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JULY,

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

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1931

PART III.—JULY

An Old Imperial "Sanad" relating to Rāisinā or New Delhi

BY SĀHITYĀCHĀRYA PT. BISHESHWAR NATH REU

(PLATES III AND IV)

THIS "Sanad"[1] had been issued in favour of Mahārājā Bijai Singh of Mārwār by the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II of Delhi on the 9th Jumāda-ul-ākhir of the 17th year of his reign.

Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, whose original name was 'Ālīgauhar, was son of Emperor 'Ālamgīr II.

On 29th November, A.D. 1759 (8th Rabī-uṣ-ṣānī, A.H. 1173, or Mārgshīrsh Sudī 10, V.S. 1816) when 'Ālamgīr II was murdered, 'Ālīgauhar was in Bihār, where, on hearing of the event, he ascended the throne[2] with the title Shāh 'Ālam II on 24th December of the same year (4th Jamādī-ul-avval, A.H. 1173, or Paush Sudī 5, V.S. 1816). In the meantime his father's assassin Vazīr 'Imād-ul-mulk Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān had declared Muhī-us-sunnat as king of Delhi with the title Shāh Jahān II; but he could not remain on the throne even for a year as Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāū had replaced him by Mirzā Jawān Bakht, son of Shāh 'Ālam II. Later, in A.D. 1761 (A.H. 1174 or v.s. 1817), when Ahmad Shāh Abdālī having defeated the Marhattās at Pānīpat came to Delhi, he announced [1] Shāh ‘Ālam II as Emperor, appointed Mirzā Jawān Bakht as heir apparent, and Shujā‘-ud-dāula [2] as Vazīr.

---

[1] Its length is about 3 feet, and breadth about 22 inches. It is mounted on a cloth to keep it preserved from decay, leaving the endorsements and the seals on its back open to view.

[2] This ceremony had been performed at village Kathaulī in Azīmābād district.

But as Shāh ‘Ālam [3] II had adopted his regnal year from the 24th December, A.D. 1759 (4th Jumāda-ul-avval, A.H. 1173, or Paush Sudī 5, v.s. 1816), his seventeenth regnal year commenced from the 3rd July, A.D. 1775 (4th Jumāda-ul-avval, A.H. 1189 or Āshādh Sudī 5, v.s. 1832). Accordingly the corresponding date of the "Sanad" which was written on the 9th Jumāda-us-sānī of the seventeenth regnal year, falls on the 7th August, A.D. 1775 (Shrāvan Sudī 11, v.s. 1832).

---

[1] After this event Ahmad Shāh returned to Qandhār leaving a deputy at Lahor.

[2] He was Nawāb of Oudh.

[3] On the 12th August, 1765 (24th Safar, A.H. 1179, or Bhādon Badī 11, v.s. 1822), the same king Shāh ‘Ālam II had granted the “Sanad of Dīwānī” of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihār, and Orisa to the East India Company in lieu of Rs. 24 lacs (26 lacs as stated elsewhere) per annum. For some time he had also kept his residence at Allahabad, but in A.D. 1771 (v.s. 1828), being displeased with the English, he return elhi and resumed the reins of the government personally. In A.D. v.s. 1845) Ghulām Qādir, grandson of Najīb-ud-daula (whom perhap hmad Shāh Abdālī had appointed, “Amīr-ul-umrā” of the Emperor), me to Delhi and deprived the king of his vision. But he was soon a r restored to the throne by Mādho Rāo Sindhiā, who put Ghulām Qād o death. For this timely help Shāh ‘Ālam conferred on Sindhiā the tit of “Farzand-i-‘Ālījāh” and has suitably given vent to his sentiment the occasion in the following couplet :—

مادھوجي سندھیا فرزند جگربند من
ھست مصروف بہ تلافیٔ ستمگاریٔ ما —

i.e. Mādhojī Sindhiā the affectionate son of mine is engaged in the removal of our distresses.

The title mentioned above still goes with the names of the Mahārājās of Gwalior.

It is evident from history that in the well-known impeachment of Warren Hastings in the British Parliament, one of the charges brought against him was that he had conspired with Mādho Rāo Sindhiā against the Emperor Shāh ‘Ālam II. This shows that Mādho Rāo Sindhiā having reached Delhi might have overpowered the Emperor Shāh ‘Ālam II at the instigation of Warren Hastings. Yet, however, the Sindhiā’s treatment of the Emperor was not bad.

Later in A.D. 1803 (v.s. 1860) Lord Lake came to Delhi and having pensioned off the king on Rs. 12 lac per annum, assumed the government of the Empire. Shāh ‘Ālam II died in A.D. 1806 (A.H. 1221, or v.s. 1863).

Besides the text of the Farmān the "Sanad" contains one imperial "Tughrā" and one imperial seal on the obverse, and two official seals and four endorsements on the reverse. Before dealing with the text of the Sanad I think it proper to examine, in detail, these particulars of the Sanad:—

The "Tughrā": Written in bold arabic characters in gold, occupying a rectangular space, reads: "Farmān vālā Shān Abul Muzaffar Jalāluddīn Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzī." Some scribblings in red occur in the blank spaces and at the top of the "Tughrā", according to custom of the age. This "Tughrā" is placed at the top of the Sanad towards the left.

The imperial seal: At its top is written "Hāulghālib", i.e. the omnipotent. In fourteen small circles around the seal are written names of the Emperor's fourteen predecessors, as follows: (1) Ṣāhib Qirān[1] Bin Fīrōz; (2) Ibn Mīrānshāh; (3) Ibn Sultān Muhammad Shāh; (4) Ibn Abū Saīd Shāh; (5) Ibn 'Umar Shēkh Shāh; (6) Ibn Bābur Bādshāh; (7) Ibn Humāyūn Bādshāh; (8) Ibn Akbar Bādshāh; (9) Ibn Jahāngīr Bādshāh; (10) Ibn Shāhjahān Bādshāh; (11) Ibn 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh; (12) Ibn Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh; (13) Ibn Jahāndārshāh; (14) Ibn 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh.

The words "Bin" and "Ibn" show that the above-named rulers bore the relation of father and son in order. In the inner big circle is written "Abul Muzaffar Jalāluddīn Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzī" as also the "Hijrī" year 1173, and the regnal year one. This seal is placed towards the right above the text.

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[1] This was an after death title of Tīmūr. [Read Ibn Amīr Tīmūr Ṣāhib Qirān.—ED.]

The Vazīr's seal: The writing in the seal reads: “Shāh ‘Ālam Bādshāh Ghāzī, yār vafādār, Sipahsālār, Rustam-i-Hind, Fidvī-i-Qadīm, Yāhyākhān Aṣaf-ud-daula . . . Shujā‘-ud-daula, Abul Manṣūrkhān Ṣafdarjang I‘timād-ud-daula Āṣafjāh Burhān-ul-mumālik, Jamdeh madārul mahām.” It also contains the “Hijrī” year 1190, and the regnal year seventeenth. This shows that this seal is of the time of Āṣaf-ud-daula, the eldest son of Shujā‘-ud-daula, who had died on the 26th January, A.D. 1775 (24th Z̲ī Qa‘da, A.H. 1188, or Māgh Badī 10, v.s. 1831). This seal is placed on the back of the Sanad towards the left lower corner.

The third seal: Its contents are: “(Shāh ‘Āla[illegible] Bādshāh Ghāzī, Fidvī Khānāzād Khān Bahādur.” The [illegible]al year given in it is sixteenth. This seal stands near [illegible] Vazīr's seal to the right. Just below this seal there is [illegible] endorsement, as follows:—

سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا بتاریخ دویم ۲ شهر رجب المرجب نقل شد

i.e. the copy [2] of the Sanad was taken on the 2n[illegible] Rajab of the seventeenth regnal year (29th August, A.D. 1775, or Bhādaun Sudī 3, v.s. 1832).

The second endorsement on the back on the right corner runs as follows:—

بتاریخ دویم شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا

مطابق سنه ۱۱۸۹ داخل سیاهه نموده شد مطابق ۷

شهر یورماه نقل بدفتر صاحب نوشته شد . . [3] برهانند —

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[1] This portion is torn.

[2] [The word نقل is not clear. Probably we should read ثبت and the reference is to affixation of the seal.—Ed.]

[3] Here there is some one's signature which is undecipherable.

Just near the above there is a third endorsement, as below :

سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا بتاریخ دویم رجب المرجب نقل . . .

مستوفي اهیمه عظام رسید —

The purport of the second endorsement is " Entered in the siyāhā (register) on the 2nd of the month of Rajab of the regnal year seventeenth, corresponding to Hijrī 1189 (29th August, A.D. 1775, or Bhādaun Sudī 3, v.s. 1832). Copy taken in the office of the " Ṣāhib " on the 7th of " Shahar yūr ".[1] May be handed over.

Purport of the third endorsement :—

Copy taken in the office of the " Aiyamā Izām " (high priest)[2] on the 2nd Rajab of the seventeenth regnal year.

The fourth endorsement called " Zimn "[3] on the back of the Sanad runs as follows :—

Line (1) مقدمه شرح ضمن بموجب سیاهه دفتر باشد

حکم صاد رشد موضع راي سینا دربست عمله پرگنه

حویلی دارالخلافه شاهجهان آباد بابت محال قدیم . . .

---

[1] This is the 6th of the Persian months commencing from the " Sankrāntī ", i.e. sun's zodiacal change.

[2] [Should be : mustaufī a'-imma-i-'iẕām = the controller of the great grants.—Ed.]

[3] In this endorsement, the following words being copied on a separate slip from the original, the slip is pasted instead at the time of repairing the Sanad :—

Line (1) ارالخلافه شاهجهان آباد بابت محال —
Line (2) ارابهارای امان عرف رشید امان درجا گیر
Line (3) سنگه بهادُر با فرزندان نسلاً بعد نسلاً —

The cross letters visible in the photo between the 2nd and the 3rd line do not belong to the text of the endorsement, but are superfluous contents of the slips pasted to preserve the paper.

مهاراجه بخت سنگه که‌در آلتمغا محمد مُراد خان شده بود
ثانیاً درسنه[1] ۲ Line (2) پروانه بجاي بنام مهاراجه بجی سنگه
عطا گشته بود ومن بعدآن (بجا گیردار . . . بعرابها راي
امان عُرف رشید امان درجا گیرخور[2] . . .) درخالصه جدید
قرار یافته . . . ربیع قوئیل پیشین (3) Line محال قدیم
آلتمغا [illegible]ن داري ازمحال خالصه شریفه درصیغه انعام
آلتمغا . بجی سنگه بهادُر بافرزندان نسلاً بعد نسلاً . . .
واقع ۲۶ [illegible]ادی الاخر . . .

Its purport :—

The details of the case may be entered according to the Register of the office. Orders issued. Village Rāīsīnā situated in the " Havēlī " (Suburban) district of the capital Shāhjahānābād, in view of old " Jagīr " . . . of Mahārājā Bakht-Singh, which had passed on to Muhammad Murādkhān as a " Jagīr " for generations, was for the second time restored to Mahārājā Bijaysingh in regnal year 2, i.e. A.D. 1760 or V.S. 1817 ; but after this it (having remained in the " Jāgīr of Rāī Amān alias Rashīd Amān . . .) had recently lapsed to " Khālsā ". (The same Rāisinā) due to its being his ancestral Jagīr (is granted) from " Khālsā " to Mahārājā Bijaysingh Bahādur and his descendants, generation after

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[1] The following matter being covered under the cloth mount did not appear in the photo :—

Of the first line :— شده بُودثانیاً درسنه ۲

Of the second line :— ئیل پیشین

[2] The writing within this bracket being distorted conveys no sense.

generation, by way of reward from the "Rabi" Crop of the "Quīl" year. Dated 26 Jumāda-ul-ākhir (24th August, A.D. 1775, or Bhādaun Badī 13, v.s. 1832).

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TEXT OF THE SANAD

(۱) در ينوقت ميمنت اقران فرمان والا شان—

(۲) واجب الازعان صادر شد که مبلغ هشتاد هزار دام—

(۳) مو ضع راي سينه در بست عمله پر گنه حويلى دارالخلافه شاهجهان آباد که مُبلغ هفتصد روپيه حاصل آنست بابت محال قديم که درخالصه شريفه-قرار يافته بود درو جه انعام—

(٤) آلتمغا . . . زبُده راجهائى هندوستان راج راجيشر مهاراجه دهراج بجى سنگه بهادُربا فرزندان مُعافي تصديق ويادد اشت .

(٥) برجمع آن بيفزايد ازثلث ربيع قوئيل حسب الضمن مقرر باشد— بايد که فرزندان نامدار کامگار والاتبار ووزراي ذوي الاقتدار واُمراء اعلى مقدار وحکاُم کِرام وعمال

(٦) کفايت فرجام ومتصديان مهمات ديواني

ومُتکفلان معاملات سلُطانی وجاگیرداران وکروریان حال واستقبال ابداً ومُوبداً دراستقرار واستمرار این حکم. —

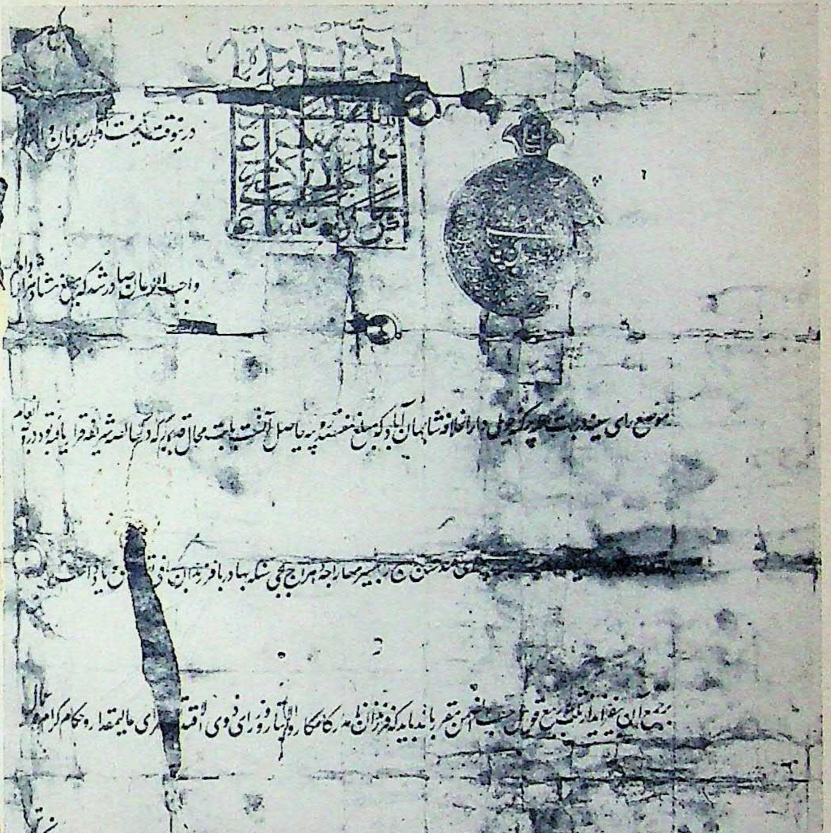
(۷) معلٰی کوشیده دامهائی مرقُومه را نسلاً بعد نسلاً و بطناً بعد بطناً خالداً و مخلداً بتصرُف آنها واگذارند واز صوادم تغیر وتبدیل مصئون ومحروس دانسته بعلت [illegible] کش صوبه داري —

(۸ [illegible] و فوجداري ومال وجهات وساير اخراجات مثل . . . بول[illegible]گا روده نيمي مقدمی صدذوئی قانون گوئي — مزاحم ومُت[illegible]رض نشوند واز کل تکلیفات دیواني

(۹) ومطالبات خاقاني مُعاف ومرفوع القلم شمارند درین باب تاکید اکید وقدغن مزید دانسته هرسال سند مُجدّد نه طلبند واز یرلیغ کرامت تبلیغ والا تخلّف وانحراف نورزند بتاریخ نهم شهر جمادي الثاني سال هفت دهم از جلوس والازیب تحریریافت —

Translation : In this auspicious time the sublime command worthy of being obeyed is issued that village Rāīsīnā of 80,000 " dāms " in the " Havelī " (suburban) Pargana of the capital Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), the rental value of which is Rs. 700/-, may be settled as " Inām " (gift) for generations,

Obverse.



IMPERIAL SANAD RELATING TO RĀISINĀ OR NEW DELHI.

[*To face p. 522.*

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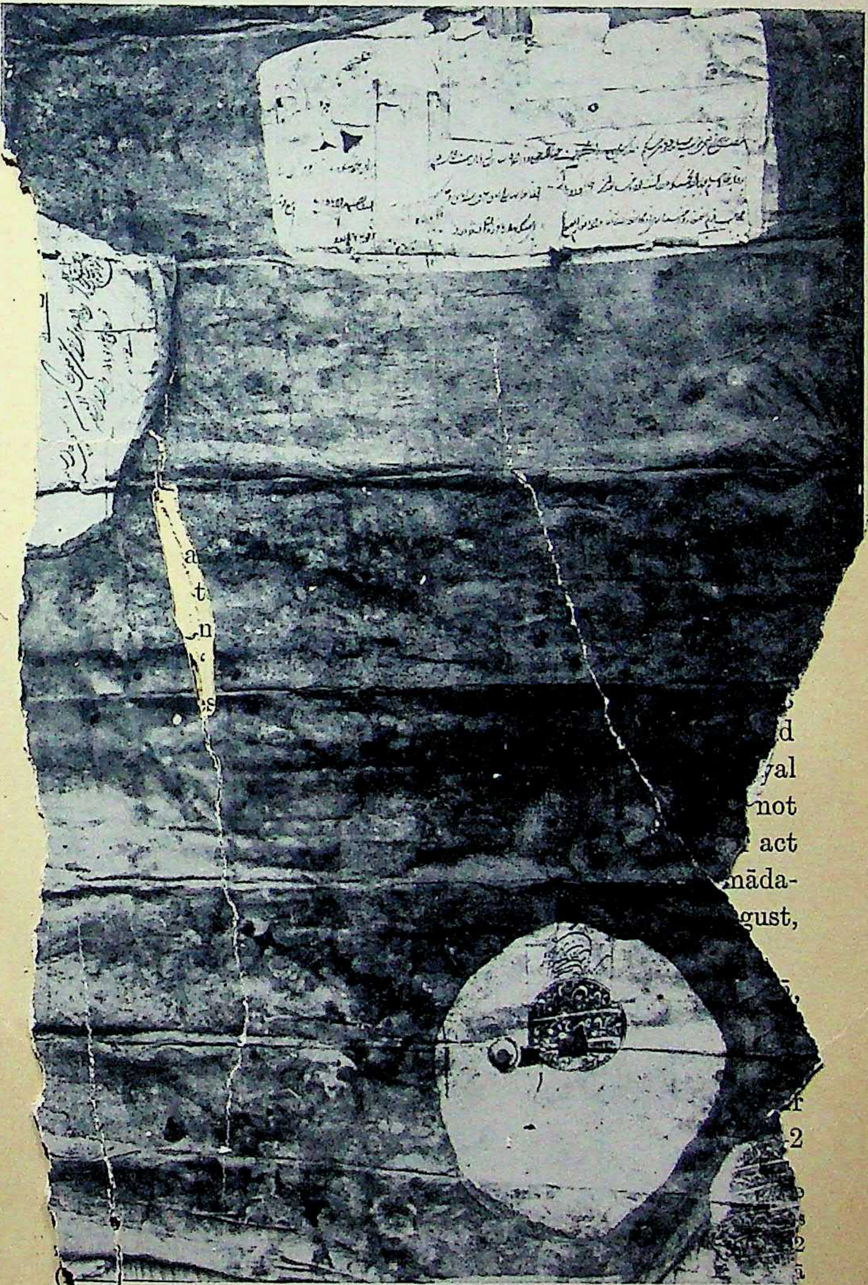

OLD IMPERIAL SANAD RELATING TO RĀISINĀ OR NEW DELH

in view of his old "Jāgīr" that had lapsed to "khālsā", upon Rāj Rājēshvar Mahārājādhirāj Bijaysingh Bahādur, the predominant of the Rājās of India, and his descendants (having been verified as rent free and duly registered, that its revenue may increase) from the third part of the "Rabī" crop (i.e. from the time of the crop being ready) of the "Quīl" (Turkish eighth year) as mentioned in the "Zimn" (Register). Our distinguished, fortunate, and dignified descendants, ministers of high rank, noble grandees, eminent officers, economical revenue collectors, administrators of civil matters, trustees of Royal affairs, "Jāgīrdārs" and "karorīs" of the present and future, having ever and anon tried to maintain and perpetuate this esteemed order, ought always to leave the above-mentioned "dāms" in their (grantees' possession, generation after generation, and individual after individual. And treating this (grant) as safe and protected from consequences of changes and fluctuations, may not exercise pressure or raise objection about payment of "Sūbadārī", "Faujdārī", "Māl", "Jahāt," and all other cesses like . . . "Begār", "Dehnīmi" ($\frac{1}{2}$/10), "Muqaddamī" "Sadzuī" (2/100), "Qānūngoī", and should treat (the grant) as free from all civil obligations and Royal demands. Treat this as strict and very urgent, do not demand new "Sanad" every year, and never disobey or act contrary to this grand order. Written on the 9th Jumāda-uṣ-ṣānī, seventeenth year of the reign (i.e. on the 7th August, A.D. 1775, or Shrāvan Sudī 11, V.S. 1832).

From this Sanad it is apparent that the village Rāīsīnā, on the site of which the present New Delhi stands, had been during the Mughal period the ancestral "Jāgīr" of the rulers of Mārwār and had regularly remained under their sway up to the reign [1] of Mahārājā Bakhtsingh A.D. 1751–2

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[1] Mahārājā Bakhtsingh had ascended the throne of Mārwār on the 29th June, A.D. 1751 (Shrāvan Badī, 2, V.S. 1808), having deposed his nephew Mahārājā Rāmsingh. He died on 21st September, A.D. 1752 (Bhādaun Sudī 13, V.S. 1809), and was succeeded by his son Mahārājā Bijaysingh.

(v.s. 1808–9). But at this time, as dissensions[1] broke out in the royal house of Jodhpur, the Emperor having confiscated it from Mahārājā Biyajsingh conferred it on Muhammad Murād Khān at the instigation of hostile parties.[2] Later, when the family feud had ended, it was restored again to Mahārājā Bijaysingh in A.D. 1760 (v.s. 1817). But sometime after, when the administration of Mārwār had relaxed due to Marhattā inraids, the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, again yielding to hostile influence, confiscated the village from the Mahārājā. Lastly on suppression of all the main risings in Mārwār, it is probable the Mahārājā might have put forward his claim to this, his ancestral "Jāgīr" village, in the Emperor's court (as is evident from the central endorsement on the back of the Sanad) and the Emperor having seen proofs of this village being the ancestral "Jāgīr" of the Mahārājās of Mārwār and finding no other rightful claimant to it, might have issued this "Sanad" in A.D. 1775 (v.s. 1832) in his favour. We cannot say when and under what circumstances this "Jāgīr" went out of the possession of the rulers of Mārwār, but two conclusions are derived clearly from it :—

Firstly, that this Rāīsīnā was an ancestral "Jāgīr" of the Mahārājās of Mārwār, and that, up to, at the most, 155 years hence, it was in their possession.

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[1] Warfare continued up to A.D. 1756 (v.s. 1813) between the two cousins Mahārājās Bijaysingh and Rāmsingh for the sovereignty of Mārwār. Later through the intervention of the Marhattās peace was concluded and Mahārājā Rām Singh was given eleven districts of Mārwār. Though the internal feud had mostly subsided by this action, yet the government of Mārwār had grown slack through the inraids of the Marhattās. This gave rise to a fresh revolt of the "sardārs" of Mārwār which was also suppressed to a great extent in A.D. 1760 (v.s. 1816). But in A.D. 1765 (v.s. 1822) due to Mādhorāo Sindhiā's invasion, the state affairs were again confused. In A.D. 1772 (v.s. 1829) Mahārājā Rāmsingh, the root cause of all troubles, breathed his last, and the eleven districts of his "Jāgīr" reverted to the state. This event broke the hearts of the internal enemies of Mārwār. Further the murder of Thākur Jaitsingh of Āuwā, the premier noble of Mārwār, in A.D. 1774 (v.s. 1831) struck terror in the hearts of the rebel sardārs, and brought them round to reason and peace.

[2] Mahārājā Īshvarī Singh of Jaipur, being father-in-law of Mahārājā Rāmsingh, had sided with him. His influence also must have worked with the Emperor against Mahārājā Bijaysingh.

Secondly, that the titles "Zubdah [1]-Rājhā-i-Hindustān, Rāj Rājeshvar, Mahārājā Dhirāj" were used with the names of the Mahārājās of Mārwār up to the end of the Mughal Empire.

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[1] The word "Sarāmad" in place of "Zubdah" has also been used in the titles of the rulers of Mārwār, as is evident from Kharītās, dated 29th May, 1829 (Jyesht Badī 12, Shravanadī, v.s. 1885), and 12th June, 1829 (Jyesht Sudī 10, Shravanadī, v.s. 1885), from Hon. Richard Cavendish, Agent Ajmer to the address of Mahārājā Mānsingh of Mārwār, as well as from a "Farman" dated 7th Jamādī-ul-avval, A.H. 1217 (Bhādaun Sudī 8, v.s. 1859 = 5th September, A.D. 1802), from the King of Kabul to the address of Mahārājā Bhīmsingh of Mārwār.

An Ismailitic Work by Nasiru'd-din Tusi

By W. IVANOW

THE connection of Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī[1] with the Ismailites is a well-known fact, familiar to every student of Persian literature. Even a beginner cannot pass without paying attention to his important treatise on ethics, the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*. This latter work was composed for and dedicated to the enlightened Ismailite governor (*ra'īs*) of the province of Quhistān, Nāṣiru'd-dīn Muḥtasham, or 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm b. Abī Manṣūr, of Qā'in, who was a well-known patron of men of letters. The original version of the work (as Ṭūsī himself states in the preface to the book as it stands at present) was subsequently altered by him when he dissociated himself from the Ismailites; it included apparently a doxology[2] with praises to Ismailite Imams.[3]

Ṭūsī's biographers do not give much information about the earlier period of his life[4]; especially they avoid touching on such a delicate matter as the real nature of his relations with the sectarians. It is generally accepted that his connection with them was not voluntary on the part of the philosopher, and that the Ismailis kept him by force.[1] We may, indeed, believe or disbelieve the story, as the facts which have been preserved are insufficient to enable us to form an independent opinion. It explains further that Ṭūsī tried to come in contact with Ibnu'l-'Alqamī, the vizier of the Abbaside caliph, Musta'ṣim bi'l-lāh (640-56/1242-58), requesting him to bring him to the notice of the caliph. Ibnu'l-'Alqamī, for some reason, brings the correspondence to the notice of the patron of Ṭūsī, the governor of Qā'in, Nāṣiru'd-dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, and the latter, being angry for these transactions, arrests Ṭūsī, and, later on, while going for some purpose to the headquarters of his government in Alamūt, takes Ṭūsī with him.[2] The philosopher remains there under arrest until the fortress of Alamūt is surrendered to Hūlāgū. Then he, professing himself to be a sufferer at the hands of the Ismailites, and repudiating any connection with their religious beliefs, is released and treated with honour. His subsequent career is well known.

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[1] His full name is usually given as Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) aṭ-Ṭūsī, but he is briefly called Khwāja Naṣīr, or Khwāja Naṣīr-i-Ṭūsī, or (by Shi'ite writers) Muḥaqqiq-i-Ṭūsī. He was born the 11th Jum. I, 597 A.H., i.e. the 17th February, 1201, and died at Baghdad the 18th Dhi'l-ḥijja, 672 A.H., i.e. the 25th June, 1274. His family was originally from Jahrūd, a village in the district of Sāwa (between Ṭihrān and Hamadān) in the province of Ray.

[2] There is hardly sufficient ground to speak about the "first" and the "second" *edition* of the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī* (cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 220), because, as Ṭūsī himself mentions in his introductory lines, the alteration was made only in the initial passage, and the whole of the text of the treatise was left unaltered. We therefore may think that the changed passage was simply the doxology and the dedication.

[3] Most probably this abandoned doxology contained the pedigree of the Ismailite Imams which is referred to in the *Dabistān-i-madhāhib* (lith. Lucknow, 1321, p. 275).

[4] Ṭūsī's biography is briefly summarized in E. G. Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 484–6, and based on the accounts found in the *Ḥabību's-siyar*, *Rauḍatu'ṣ-ṣafā*, *Ta'rīkh-i-guzīda*, Ibn Shākir, etc. The information given by Nūru'l-lah Shushtarī in his *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn* gives a version substantially differing from these. *Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī* gives nothing beyond the date of Ṭūsī's death. The modern work, *Rauḍātu'l-jannāt*, adds nothing new. Cf. also H. Ethé in *Grundr. d. Ir. Phil.*, ii, pp. 344, 348, 363.

The point which is of particular interest to us in the present case is the question of the character of Ṭūsī's position with regard to his Ismaili patrons. Was it simply service, or conversion to Ismailism also ?[3] If the Ismailis wanted his services, they could afford to give him a salary sufficient to assure his voluntary collaboration, which would be, indeed, immensely more productive than labour under compulsion. There may be a new explanation suggested. It is a well-known fact that the Ismailis of Persia have at present, and have long had, an established practice of giving education to their sons in the ordinary Shi'ite schools. The pupils remain under the *taqiyya*, i.e. outwardly professing and following the Shi'ite (twelve-Imamite) doctrine.[1] It is not a rare occurrence for an Ismailite student to find himself ultimately so much at home, or so convinced, in his Shi'ite professed beliefs, that he, especially in case of various personal considerations, may attempt to remain a Shi'ite, severing his connection with his original community. This severance often leads to open or hidden revenge.

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[1] E. G. Browne (op. cit., ii, p. 456) uses even the expression " kidnapped " by Muḥtasham of Qā'in, apparently on the authority of Rashīdu'd-dīn's great *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh* (which is not accessible to me at present). In any case the story of Ṭūsī's being forcibly retained in Alamūt could not be thoroughly false, as it could be easily verified by the Mongols.

[2] So according to the version preserved in the *Ḥabību's-siyar* and its sources. The *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn* (p. 329 of the old Tabriz lithograph) states that the transactions with 'Alqamī preceded Ṭūsī's entering the service of Muḥtasham, who attracted him " by a ruse ".

[3] It is very significant that the author of the *Dabistān-i-madhāhib* (ibid., p. 275) uses an expression plainly implying Ṭūsī's being, or pretending to be, an Ismailite (*dar hangāmī ki khūd-rā Ismā'īlī mī-namūd, yā būd*).

There is nothing improbable in the supposition of a similar situation in the case of Ṭūsī, though, on the whole, our information is so conflicting and the circumstances are so doubtful that we scarcely can hope ever to solve this mystery.

Ṭūsī wrote in Persian and in Arabic.[2] Amongst his Persian works, besides the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*, mentioned above, there was another book on ethics, the *Awṣāfu'l-ashrāf*; astronomical tables; a short treatise on the use of astrolabe (*Bīst bāb*), etc. All these are well known. It may be added that Ṭūsī is sometimes regarded as the author of the popular work, *Mir'ātu'l-muḥaqqiqīn*, which in different copies is ascribed to different authors,[1] and which the Ismailis themselves attribute to *Nāṣir-i-Khusraw*.[2]

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[1] There is no doubt that the relations between the "orthodox" Shi'ites and the Ismailites were rarely very unfriendly, especially in those sections of both communities which entertained somewhat extremist views. It would be sufficient to mention as an example the friendly tone in which such a jealous Shi'ite as Nūru'l-lah Shushtarī speaks about the Ismailis where he deals with Ṭūsī's biography. The rapid spreading of Shi'ism after the Mongol invasion and the destruction of the political power of the Ismailis may perhaps be attributed to a large extent to the drifting of the persecuted Ismaili communities under the shelter of the kindred sect which gained influence at that time.

[2] His Arabic works are mentioned in C. Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Lit.*, ii, pp. 508–12.

An Ismaili friend of mine has lent me recently a manuscript of a Persian work, dealing with the dogmas of Ismailism; in its opening lines the authorship is ascribed to Ṭūsī. The work is apparently unknown; it has the title of *Rauḍatu'l-taslīm*, is divided into a preface and twenty-eight *taṣawwurs*. or chapters of uneven length,[3] and contains a clear philosophic exposition of the Ismaili theology. It gives a particularly clear view of what is the esoteric doctrine and the *ta'wīl* system of the sect.

There is no direct way of ascertaining whether the work is really by Ṭūsī. His biographers, as also Ḥājjī Khalīfa, the author of the *Kashfu'l-ḥujub*, etc., do not mention it at all. The internal evidence does not supply any reason for regarding it as a work which could not have been written by Ṭūsī. The language is obviously and undubitably old, and suits perfectly well the fashions of the early thirteenth century. In its manner and diction it resembles very much the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*. There are many cases in which terms, expressions, and ideas are the same in both works.[4] On the other hand, the work could not have been composed earlier than the second half of the sixth century A.H., or twelfth century A.D., because there are references to the Fatimide caliph al-Mustanṣir (427–87/1035–94), and to Sayyid-nā, i.e. obviously Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. Besides, if the dogma of the Great Resurrection (*Qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt*) was not invented earlier than it was actually proclaimed by the *khudāwand* of Alamūt, Ḥasan *'Alī dhikruhu's-salām*,[1] on the 17th of Ramaḍān, 559/the 8th August, 1164, the book must have been compiled later than this date, as the doctrine is quite prominent in it.[2]

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[1] Cf. my catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the "Curzon", or "Government" Collection in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1926, No. 462 (7).

[2] So in the lithographed edition, Bombay, 1333.

[3] Some of the chapters are obviously incomplete, or pass abruptly from one matter to the other. Besides, there are many repetitions, some subjects are dealt with in different places, etc. The general impression is that the work was written in a hurry, and not carefully finished, "worked through."

[4] Ṭūsī's Persian, however, is remarkably uneven, and the style varies much in his different works. For instance, the style of the *Awṣāfu'l-ashrāf* is quite different from that of the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*. This, perhaps, may be explained by the difference in the time at which these works were compiled.

There are also other reasons in favour of recognition of the probability of Ṭūsī's authorship of this work. Ṭūsī, certainly, was not held in much admiration by the Ismailis, and therefore if it was not written by him, but by some unknown author, the sectarians would have found somebody more appropriate and authoritative than Ṭūsī to ascribe the work to. Besides, the general style and "make" of the book show that it could not be the production of anyone but a man of real learning and philosophical talent.

These grounds for accepting Ṭūsī's authorship of this work as true may be insufficient. But, nevertheless, they are *some grounds* to justify us in attributing this work, provisionally and conjecturally, to the famous philosopher, until we discover some good reason either to confirm this hypothesis or to reject it entirely.

The importance of this work, in any case, cannot be exaggerated. Genuine works of Ismailis known in European libraries are very few, and mostly belong to modern authors.[3]

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[1] So the Ismailites in India, Badakhshān, and Persia read his name.

[2] There are many references to this doctrine throughout the treatise, but the clearest mention of it is found in *taṣawwur* xxvi, in which it is stated that the Qā'im had proclaimed this dogma himself forty years after "the first blast of the trumpet" by Sayyid-nā, i.e. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. This coincides fairly well with the historical sequence of the events.

[3] Cf. St. Guyard, "Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis," *Not. et Extraits*, Paris, 1874, based on some manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale; W. Ivanow, "Ismailitic Manuscripts in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg" (in Russian), in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Russe des Sciences*, 1917, pp. 359–86. This paper has been reviewed at length in the *JRAS*. 1919, pp. 429–35, by Sir E. Denison Ross. One of the items described in that paper was edited and translated by W. Ivanow in the "Ismailitica", *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1922, vol. viii, pp. 1–76. Several short poems of the Ismailis living on the Upper Oxus were recently published, with Russian translations and commentaries, by A. Semenov in *Iran* and in the *Zapiski* of the Russian Orientalistic Society.

Very few of them have been so far published, and, besides, none of them gives such a clear and complete exposition of the system. In its terminology and teachings it coincides entirely with a much shorter work, *On recognition of the Imam* (*Dar shinākht-i-Imām*), which has already been published by me.[1] As the latter work was written not before about 1000/1592, it is obvious that the remarkable coincidence in terms, and occasionally in whole sentences, is due to the fact that the author perused Ṭūsī's treatise.[2]

It must be recalled that besides different sects which are more or less cognate to Ismailism, such as the ancient Qarmatians, the Druzes, the Nusairis, the Ḥurūfīs (i.e. Cabalists of Shi'ite extremism), the 'Alī-Ilāhīs, etc., the Ismailite doctrine proper is still represented by several different schools which are not less alien to each other than to any Shi'ite doctrine outside Ismaiīism. The most ancient phase of Ismailite doctrine is apparently represented by the *Wajh-i-dīn* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw,[3] which contains the teaching as adapted to the understanding of the inhabitants of a wild corner of the Islamic world, Badakhshān, as it was in the eleventh century A.D. There is little esoterism in it; and, if the poetical works attributed to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw are genuine,[4] they give very little of it either. It is remarkable that the doctrines of the *Wajh-i-dīn* are still a living religion, that of the "Mullahs" of Badakhshān and of the Upper Oxus. But the esoteric doctrine is derived by the followers of the sect from another book, considered by them as the most sacred, i.e. the *Ummu'l-kitāb*, which contains a strange mixture of Cabalistic speculations, traces of Ismailite and ordinary Shi'ite beliefs, Zoroastrianism, and, perhaps, even of Manicheism and doctrines of some early Shi'ite extremist sects. It is of much later date than Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, however, though it is ascribed to the Imam Muḥammad Bāqir.[1]

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[1] It forms the first part of the "Ismailitica", in the *Memoirs of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1922, vol. viii, pp. 1–49.

[2] All such cases of coincidence are noted in the corresponding places in the summary.

[3] It was printed at the Kaviani press, Berlin, under the patronage of the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund, in 1924.

[4] The *Raushanā'ī-nāma* was edited and translated by the late H. Ethé in *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxiii (1879), pp. 645–65, and vol. xxxiv (1880), pp. 428–64 and 617–42. The *Sa'ādat-nāma* was ed. and translated by E. Fagnan, "Le livre de felicité," *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxiv (1880), pp. 643–74; notes to both by F. Teufel, *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxvi (1882), pp. 96–114. Both were lith. in Bombay (1333 ?). The *Zādu'l-musāfirīn* was printed in Berlin in 1922.

The sect called Bohras in India, with two chief sub-sects, the Dā'ūdī and Sulaymānī, represents the older tradition of the Fatimide, i.e. "Egyptian" Ismailism.[2] The Khojas, of whom the majority are the followers of the Agha Khan in India, follow, on the whole, the outlines of the doctrine of the Persian Ismailis, but with the addition of substantial Hinduistic adaptations and superstructures.[3]

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[1] See W. Ivanow, "Ismailitic MSS. in the Asiatic Museum," *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1917, pp. 362–5. The work in its present form has little to do with Imam Muḥammad Bāqir, and most probably represents the product of a long evolution of the local tradition, perhaps ascending to some early sources.

[2] The literature of the Bohra sub-sects is fairly large, consisting chiefly of collections of prayers and poetry in Arabic. There are, however, also books in Gujrati, Hindustani, and even in Persian. Amongst these books there are: *Dīwān* of Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyid Hibatu'l-lāh b. Mūsā b. Dā'ūd ash-Shīrāzī; *Ḍiyā'u'l-baṣā'ir*, by Sayyid-nā Idrīs; *Kanzu'l-wuld*, by Sayyid-nā Ibrāhīm; *Mūḍaḥatu'r-rushād*, by Sayyid-nā Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir; *Kitābu'l-iṣlāḥ*, by Sayyid-nā Abū Ḥātim ar-Rā'ūsī (الراوسی); *Ta'wīlu'z-zakāt*, by Sayyid-nā Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yamanī; *al-Maḥajjatu'l-bayḍā'*, by 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Zaid al-'Anasī; *aṣ-Ṣaḥīfatu'l-Yamāniyya*, by Malik Najmu'd-dīn b. Ṭayyib 'Alī; *Uṣūlu'd-dīn*; *Majālisu'l-ḥikmat*; *Sīratu'd-du'āt*, etc. The *Mawsim-i-bahār*, by Muḥammad 'Alī, is in Gujrati; also the *Majālis-i-Sayfiyya*; the *Akhbār-i-Sulaymānī wa āthār-i-withānī* is in Hindustani (lith.). Several other works are mentioned in the article on the Bohras in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i, 738, where the scanty bibliography on the subject is cited.

[3] The followers of the Agha Khan in India, the Khojas, rarely read in Persian or Arabic; they use in their writings either Gujrati or Sindhi; even the Qur'ān is transcribed in these alphabets, and translated literally into both languages. Their literature is, I was told, very poor, consisting of a few collections of sacred hymns and of prayers; there are some works of historical contents. The real dogmas and teachings have never been dealt with adequately, and all information to which writers on Ismailitic subjects usually refer is derived from the summaries of the legal proceedings at the

The present work, as also the short treatise *On recognition of the Imam*, mentioned above, and other works, such as the *Haft bāb*,[1] etc., represent what may be called "Persian" Ismailitic doctrine, probably descending directly from the teachings of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ.[2] We have no means of ascertaining how far his doctrine deviated from the original theories of the real founder of the sect, 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn.[3] The latter's teachings have been often summarized, correctly or wrongly, by the orthodox Muhammadan historians, and seem, on the whole, to fit the doctrines of the present treatise very well, especially the detailed account by an-Nuwayrī.[4] It seems unlikely that such a devoted follower of the doctrine

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Bombay Court in 1866 and 1908. There are, however, many divergencies between the different sections of the community. While the more educated accept the works of the Persian and Upper Oxus Ismailis as genuine and belonging to their own doctrine, the less educated Indian followers, whose connection with Hinduism is still very strong, entertain many Hinduistic beliefs.

[1] See W. Ivanow, *Ismailitic MSS. in the Asiatic Museum*, pp. 368–71 sqq.

[2] He was the author of several works, cf. the *Fuṣūl arba'a* referred to in the *Kitābu'l-milal wa'n-niḥal* by Shahrastānī. There are references to Ra'īs Ḥasan in the text published by me in the *Ismailitica*, and quotations from his poetry. It is difficult, however, to find whether Ra'īs Ḥasan is the same as Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. It is obvious that his works were in no way "monumental", and probably were in the form of "epistles", or small treatises, because they have left very few traces in the controversial literature and tradition of the sect.

[3] There is no doubt that there was some difference between the doctrines of 'Abdu'l-lah b. Maymūn and the teachings of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, i.e. between the *maqālāt qadīma* and *maqālāt jadīda*, as emphasized by I. Goldziher in the preface to his *Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batinijja Sekte* (Leyden, 1916, p. 12), who refers to Shahrastānī (Cureton, 150–2) and Ibn Khallikān (i, 168).

[4] See E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 410–15, and O'Leary, *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate* (London, 1923, pp. 21–9), who refer to S. de Sacy's *Exposé de la religion des Druzes* (Paris, 1838, vol. i, pp. lxii–cxxxviii), which is not accessible to me at present. It seems quite certain that the nine degrees into which Nuwayrī divides the progress of the spiritual education of Ismaili converts, are his own invention, an attempt at presenting things schematically in accordance with the medieval fashion of Muhammadan literature. They have nothing to do with either the ancient or the modern ranks of the initiated, and there is no trace of them either in the sectarian or in the controversial literature except Nuwayrī's work.

as Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ would go far beyond popularizing his patron saint's theories. The treatise which we are to review presently most probably represents the strictly "orthodox" tradition of Persian Ismailism. If it is by Ṭūsī, his somewhat dubious position would prevent him from introducing much of his own, and thus deviate from what was generally accepted. An author of a lesser calibre than Ṭūsī would also scarcely dare to interfere with the system, except in unessential details.

The Western ideas about Ismailism are all derived from writings of the enemies of the sect, chiefly of orthodox Muhammadan historians and theologians. These, quite naturally, used to tell their readers only all that they could find derogatory and objectionable about the hated heretics. Thus, it became almost a generally accepted point of view that Ismailism was something like a "swindle on a grand scale", a malicious intrigue for the subversion of the Baghdad caliphate and of Islamism in general. These ideas, first introduced by Hammer-Purgstall, were later on especially cultivated by the well-known Dutch scholars, Dozy and de Goeje. We scarcely need pay attention to them now, when genuine Ismailite works are becoming known. No religion, especially one so enduring and strong-spirited as Ismailism, can be started by rascality. We need not, in the least, suspect the sincerity and remarkable devotion either of the founders, or of the followers of a sect which succeeded in withstanding a thousand years of persecution. What seems to be far more appropriate in the case is to consider whether we have in Ismailism a great attempt at a reformation of Islam. It seems that 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn, and, perhaps, Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, may claim in reality the recognition of their right to rank amongst the greatest thinkers of the Muhammadan world.

The study of the present work gives at once the key to the understanding of the secret of the appeal which the Ismailite doctrine exercised over its followers. The teachings g a highly finished and consistent system of philosophical religion, and appear as one of the most daring attempts in history to build a popular religion on a thoroughly critical or logical basis, and to bring it into complete agreement with the science. In criticizing the system, we must not forget that the outlines of it were created over a thousand years ago, that the present, Ṭūsī's, work is itself over 700 years old, and that what appears to us now as mediaeval superstition was at that time the last word of "scientific research".[1] As the science at that time was chiefly based on Greek teachings, we need not be surprised to find in Ismailism all the familiar elements of Greek philosophy, its terminology and methods. Its esoteric, "full-sized" form may, perhaps, be appropriately called "Islam sieved through Greek philosophy", and deprived of much of its mysticism.[2] The open recognition of its double nature, esoteric and exoteric, seems to be an ingenious method, indeed; but there is scarcely any reason to regard it as merely a vicious trick of the insincere spiritual leaders of the sect.[1]

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[1] The ideas and scientific theories on which the present work is based form a system of philosophy similar to that of the famous *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwānu'ṣ-ṣafā' which were rendered accessible to Western readers by the works of the late F. Dieterici, and therefore some acquaintance with them may be taken for granted. It may be mentioned that the *Rasā'il* are still very popular amongst the Ismailis in Persia.

[2] It would be desirable to abandon for ever the (unfortunately far too familiar) sweeping generalizations as to the "idealistic" East, with its particular predisposition to mysticism, as an eternal antithesis to the "materialistic West". There is no superstition and misbelief which does more harm than this. A close study of different Eastern religions and civilizations reveals frequently, as in the case of Ismailism and many other Islamic sects, a decided predilection towards a flat, superficial and formal, rationalistic or logical materialism, a materialism so uncompromising and primitive that it leads often to complete atheism and amoralism. What appears to the twentieth century European as "mystic" is often simply childish "science", of the most materialistic nature. How many statements of Western science as it stands at present will be regarded as "mysticism" or superstition in a couple of centuries! Such things as cabalistic calculations, divination, magic, astrology, etc., are, and always have been, treated as *sciences*, on a perfectly equal footing with other or th iplines which have retained their right to the title of "science" even the s adays.

It will be best to give here a brief summary of every *taṣawwur*, or chapter, dwelling on its contents only in so far as they present something new or important. But before giving the details it will be useful perhaps to sketch the principles of the doctrine as the text does not clearly separate them from matters of detail.

The Ultimate Primal Unknowable Cause, the nature of which is beyond human understanding, may be only logically postulated.[2] Its pre-eternal, but ever-continuing act, or, perhaps, one of the aspects of its unknowable nature—the creation—is called the " Word of Truth " (*Kalimatu'l-Ḥaqq*), an obvious attempt at rendering the Greek term *Logos*,[3] which in this case, perhaps, may be more appropriately explained as " Divine Will ". This act of creation is inherently, consubstantially, and inseparably accompanied by the all-pervading " Reason ", i.e. rhythm, or self-stabilizing power of harmony of the Universe, its Platonic idea, the Primal Reason (*'Aql-i-awwal*).[4] The three, i.e.

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[1] It is remarkable that the system of revealing the religious doctrine gradually was always emphasized by the enemies of the sect as a special proof of its wickedness, while Sufism, in which exactly the same method is adopted, with its " stages " and " positions ", seems never to have been subject to accusations of this kind.

[2] It must be noted that in this treatise, as usually in the sectarian literature, the words Allah, Khudā, etc., are used only in quotations, and the Absolute is called invariably *ū ta'ālā*, i.e. " He, the Allhigh ". It may be added that this doctrine of strict *tanzīh* was entirely an outcome of a struggle which lasted for many centuries, especially in circles inclined to mysticism, about the real meaning of the *tawḥīd*, i.e. belief in the absolute unity of God ; the early Sufis were especially pre-occupied with this.

[3] This rendering of the term *Logos* by *kalimatu'l-Ḥaqq* was most probably a concession to the orthodox Muhammadan teachings about the world being created by the verbal command of Allah. Instances of such concessions, or involuntary reminiscences, are very numerous in this work.

[4] The author systematically avoids the use of the term which is frequently employed in similar contexts, i.e. *'Aql-i-kullī*. It may be added that the word " reason " does not adequately render the term *'aql*, which in this case has a distinctly verbal sense, and thus may be rendered by " reasoning or even with " reasonability ", or " logic ", or " logical order ".

the Primal Cause, the *Logos*, and the Reason, are but one, inseparably co-existent. The scheme is obviously based on the Neo-Platonistic system, and, perhaps, is not free from Christian influence.

The evolution of creation is based on the doctrine of "perfection", and the desire, or will, to attain it.[1] The material world is but an imperfect form of the spiritual. There is a gradual transition from the Creator and his creative will, through different general powers of nature and their laws (*'aqls*),[2] their substrata, i.e. the general forms of life (*nafs*),[3] etc., to the "top" of the created world, Man, who is the microcosmos in himself. The cosmic purpose, the position in the universe, etc., of Man is the highest in so far as he is endowed with knowledge, which is his "perfection" (*kamāl*), his way of salvation (*ma'ād*), etc.[4] The source of his knowledge is the Imam. The latter is an ordinary man in whom the substance (*dhāt*) of the Logos is manifested. This substance *must* be manifested in the world, otherwise the latter cannot exist. And it *must* have its culminating manifestation in *Man*, because Man is the top of the creation. There is apparently no trace of Docetism or Monophysitism, and this Divine Substance of Imamat is transferred by physical birth only, to one son only, as a *naṣṣ*.[1] Therefore an Imam cannot remain childless—this would mean that he is not an Imam really. He only, by his supreme knowledge, can know which of his sons has received the *naṣṣ*—he *cannot* commit a mistake in this, otherwise he is not an Imam, as it shows that his knowledge is faulty, and, therefore, not Divine. This is why the Imamat is irrevocable. His human nature and reason, with all the duties and obligations on the one side, and the rules of logic, etc., on the other, may be at any moment cancelled by his Divine element. He has no law (*ḥaqq*,[2] literally "truth") binding upon him, because he is himself the source and the creator of *ḥaqq*.[3] Therefore no strange and bizarre action on his part can be taken as a reason for doubting his genuineness. He is free to violate any prescription of *sharī'at*, the law given by the prophets, who are conceived as something like chiefs of the police issuing their regulations in order to suppress lawlessness amongst men. The Imam, as the bearer of supreme authority, may alter or cancel at his pleasure any of these laws.

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[1] The author apparently is not a pantheist of Sufic or Neo-Platonistic type, nor does he recognize the doctrine of evolution in the ordinary sense, as may be seen further on. His evolution of the Universe does not proceed *in time*, but is apparently inherent in the same single act of creation, and is, therefore, pre-eternal. It is difficult under these circumstances to see why he separates the first links in its chain from the subsequent phases of it.

[2] It is remarkable that the author carefully avoids using the term emanation (*tajallī*) which is so common in the pantheistic systems of Sufic writers; here it is not found at all. This cannot be attributed entirely to occasional omission.

[3] The difficulty of finding a term which may render adequately the meaning of this expression is here accentuated by the wide sense in which it is here used. The term *nafs* comprises here not only different functions of a living organism, such as metabolism, the activity of sensory and motor nerves, with their conscious and reflexive action, but also higher forms, of instinct, memory, perception, etc., in short, different functions of mind except its reasoning power and self-consciousness.

[4] The *ma'ād* is explained philosophically in the text as the Neo-Platonistic ascension" of imperfect things to more perfect ones, and has apparently thing to do with the orthodox doctrine of resurrection of bodies.

The real rôle of the *Ḥujjat*, who is the manifestation of the "Primal Reason" (*'Aql-i-awwal*), is in this treatise left without sufficient details. Though he is, apparently, of the same double nature, Divine and human, as the Imam, there is nothing, as far as may be ascertained at present, about his *naṣṣ*, and about the hereditary transmission of it.[1] From the history of the sect we know that there may be long periods when there is no recognized Ḥujjat at all.[2] But, at the same time, we know that some sectarian works attribute to him a magnificent rôle, sometimes even that of a Demiurge.[3]

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[1] The doctrine of the *naṣṣ* is much obscured by the different meanings given to this term by different authors, and by different sects of Shi'ism. It appears as if the correct meaning of the term in Ismailism is succession by "the Mercy of God", and not due to personal nomination of the Imam-father, as one often hears. The miraculous powers, which it is supposed to carry with it, are obviously of the same nature as, for instance, the supernatural powers attributed sometimes by superstition to kings; they are due to the "office", not to the person of the Imam. Cf. f. 86 : نص پاک نه بسوی آن کنند که او امام باشد بلکه بسوی آن که تا مردم اورا بشناسند.

[2] The term *ḥaqq* is used in so many different senses, and is so confusing, that it is very often difficult to find an adequate expression for it in English. Here *ḥaqq* obviously means something like a "correct and consistent line of action".

[3] See *taṣawwur* xxiv: او خداوند حق است و هوا و مراد اورا سببی اشد زیرا که آنجا که اوست سبب و مسبب و مسببی هرسه یکی ست.

We may begin here the summary review of the *Rauḍatu't-taslīm*, in the order of its chapters (*taṣawwurs*).[4]

The preface is short; it contains only half a line of a doxology, and the statement that "the humblest slave of the Propaganda (*da'wat*), rightly guiding and showing the right way"—may God establish it firmly!—Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭūsī, addresses this pamphlet to his dearest brother in religion, Badru'd-dīn Ḥusayn.[5] The work is to deal with "the beginning of things, and their return (*ma'ād*), ethics, and good actions, so as to make it intelligible ".[1] Then follows the mention of the title of the work, the usual requests to forgive and correct errors in the book, and the list of the headings of the twenty-eight *taṣawwurs* into which the work is divided. The present manuscript, as mentioned above, is incomplete at the end. It contains the beginning of the 27th *taṣawwur*, but its end is not genuine, and there may be reasons to think that the last pages belong to the last, the 28th *taṣawwur*, though the text has been so " corrected " as to create the impression of continuity.

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[1] The treatise published by me in the *Ismailitica* gives much more information on this subject. It appears as if the author of the present work purposely dealt with the matter in an evasive manner, dismissing it in common allegories about the Moon which takes the place of the Sun after the latter sets.

[2] At present there is no Ḥujjat. After the death of the last one who was still an infant at that time, it is supposed that Ḥujjat-ship has been transferred to, and united in one person with, the Imam, i.e. H.H. the present Agha Khan.

[3] See the *Ismailitica*, pp. 32–6. His rôle is exceptionally emphasized in the mystic treatise *Ummu'l-kitāb*, where Salmān, who was a Ḥujjat, is regarded as the real creator of the world. Cf. also *Dar shinākht-i-Imām*, pp. 17 and 33.

[4] It is difficult to see why the author has called the chapters of his work *taṣawwur*. This term is particularly often used in logic, in the sense of "conception, idea", as opposed to *taṣdīq*, "judgment." It seems probable that it is intended here in this sense, and not in that which *taṣawwur* means simply "imagination", fantasy. Or was it a cunning, "diplomatic" ambiguity, purposely introduced in order that afterwards it might be used as a "way out" from accusations of heresy?

[5] There is no indication as to who this Ḥusayn really was.

Taṣawwur the First (ff. 3 v.–5 v.). Refutation of the statements of those who deny the existence of a Creator, or maintain that there are two gods, or two eternal principles, or that created beings cannot come to understand His necessity (تصور اول در کسر مقالات آنکس. که نفی صانع جل وعلی کند یا بکوید خدا دواست یا دوقدیم است وآنکه خلق اثبات اوتعالی نتوانند کرد).

There is nothing beyond the usual syllogisms postulating the existence of a sole Primal Cause of the world, with the help of the usual " reductio ad absurdum ".

Taṣawwur II (ff. 5 v.–11 v.). On the development of things from the Primal Cause (در صدور اشیا از علت اولی برسبیل سوال وجواب).

The origin of the universe is the will (*amr*) of the Supreme Being, which is treated as a transcendent eternal

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[1] الله مفتح الابواب، رب یسر و لا تعسر، اما بعد، غرض از تحریر این کلام و تقریر این پیام آنکه کمترین بنده کان دعوت ها دیهٔ مهدیه ثبتها الله، محمد ابن حسن طوسی علیه الرحمة با برادر اعز بدر (?) الدین حسین حرسه الله، و نصرت بعد از سلام و تحیات، که خوانده باشد (و) بداند از تصورات که این ضعیف ترین بنده کان دعوت را در مبدأ و معاد و اخلاق و معاملات رحسب فهم و ادراکات عاجزانه ها استاده است ثبتی کردم الخ.

"momentum" of absolute energy, the nature of which is beyond human knowledge. This *amr* in the form of the "Word of God", *Logos*, implies in itself the "Primal Reason", '*Aql-i-awwal*, and this is the source of the existence of the world as it is. The question whether the *Amr* was a single pre-eternal act, or whether it is as inherent in the Supreme Being as "light from light", etc., is declared as being beyond human understanding. The Primal Cause became conscious of itself as the Creator,[1] and the creation appeared as necessary (*lāzim āmad*), and this act of consciousness was the First Reason, thus being "a single result from a single cause".[2] This is supported by various logical constructions. When the First Reason becomes conscious of itself, i.e. of itself being a cause, the Second Reason, or the Reason of the Highest Sphere, has come into existence. When the latter becomes conscious of its own imperfection, as being dependent on something else (*wājib ba-ghayr*), the Universal Nature (or Life, *Nafs-i-kullī*) has come into existence; and so on, with the lower spheres and forms of substance and cosmic nature.

The genesis of the material world is described thus: the Univeral Nature (*Nafs-i-kullī*) became conscious of the perfection of the Primal Reason, and, as a result, its own perfection became existent. But when it became conscious of its own imperfection, the *Hayūlā*, i.e. Plato's ideas of individual things, which are imperfect, came into existence. So gradually the '*aqls*, or reasons (perhaps better called "*orders*")[3] of spheres appeared, up to that of the lowest sphere, the sphere of the Moon. This '*aql* is called '*aql-i-fa''āl*, or immediate creator. The existence of things depends on their being capable of receiving the blessing (*qabūl-i-fayḍ*). What this *fayḍ* is, and whether it is existence only, is not defined. There is no explanation why there are nine spheres only, or twelve constellations of the Zodiac, four elements, etc.; all this is known only to those familiar with absolute Truth (*ḥaqq*)—"a prostration be due to their mention (*li-dhikri-him as-sujūd*)!" It may be perhaps known to their *dā'īs* and *ḥujjats*. But (apparently) the reason is some didactic purpose (*istifāda*). All these have their own hierarchy (*silsilatu'l-wujūd*), the top of which is Man, as the most perfect being.

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[1] The author completely disregards the fact that by predicating to the Primal Cause the "consciousness" and "creatorship" he destroys his doctrine of the *tanzīh*, or "attributelessness" of the Deity.

[2] This principle, which greatly occupied the Neo-Platonist philosophers and all those who followed them, appears to be invariably accepted by different systems in spite of its being unprovable. The present treatise devotes to it a special chapter (*taṣawwur* iii), with not much success, indeed.

[3] In this sense the term '*aql* may be explained as a sum of forces (*rūḥāniyyāt*) working consistently in accordance with a logical order, i.e. "law of nature".

Taṣawwur III (ff. 11 v.–13 v.). On the principle: from a single (cause) one only (result) may proceed (در مسئلهٔ لا يصدر عن الواحد الا الواحد), i.e. from one (simple) cause only one effect may be produced. It deals with attempts to reconcile the plurality of things with the theory of the origin of the world from a single Primal Cause.[1] Quite naturally, these attempts have the appearance of mere sophisms, and the ultimate result is a recognition of the impossibility of reaching a final solution.

Taṣawwur IV (f. 13 v.). Definitions of the "First Reason", "Creative Reason", and "Universal Reason", which are three as regards the terms which are applied to them, but all are the same in reality (در عقل اول وعقل فعال وعقل كل كه عبارت سه است ومعنى يكى).

Taṣawwur V (ff. 13 v.–14). On the "Universal (living) Nature" (در نفس كلى).

Nafs is used (as mentioned above) in the sense of a complex of all biological, physical, and psychical processes which constitute animation, or the life of a living body. The term *Nafs-i-kullī* may therefore be understood as a summary of processes which constitute the life of the macrocosmos.

[1] Cf. above, *taṣawwur* ii.

Taṣawwur VI (ff. 14–15). On *Hayūlā*, or "Form" (در هیولی).

The term, "which is composed of two Arabic (*sic*) words,"[1] is used in four different senses: individuality (*h. ṣanā'at*); species and genus (*h. ṭabī'at*); material (*h. kullī*); and substance (*h. awwal*).

Taṣawwur VII (ff. 15–16). On "Universal Physical Substance" or "Universal Body" (در طبیعت کل وجسم کل).

On the properties of what we should call "the inorganic world". They form a part of *Nafs-i-kullī*, and consist of what is now regarded as forms of mechanical, chemical, etc., energy. These have special terms to distinguish one from the other. Such elementary powers, e.g. the force of gravitation, are called *rūḥāniyyāt*, literally "spirits" or "spiritualities",[2] and are more general in their nature than force in particular moments, the *quwwat*, or "force" simply. Their higher forms, such as those of processes of psychic life, are called "angels" (*malā'ika*, or *firishta*). These "angels" are the medium between the Universal Body, governed simply by the laws of nature (*Ṭabī'at-i-kullī*), and the "Universal Nature" (*Nafs-i-kullī*), in the universal process of the movement towards perfection (*kamāl*).

Taṣawwur VIII (ff. 16–19). On human nature (در معرفت نفس انسانی).

The life of human nature consists of different forms of biological and other processes: *nafs-i-nabātī*, or, what we would call now, metabolism and the life of tissues; *nafs-i-ḥaywānī*, or the entirety of reflexive and automatic actions as well as instinct; and *nafs-i-insānī*, i.e. subconscious mind, with some other psychical powers (except reasoning and self-consciousness). The first two are divisible, but the last one is an "eternal" (*abadī*) substance (*jauhar*), which cannot be divided or separated from the body. These are only the principal kinds of *nafs*, or forms of life. Others are *nafs-i-khayālī*, i.e. the imaginative power and memory, which is intermediary between the *nafs-i-ḥaywānī* and *nafs-i-insānī*, being on the one side connected with the "senses" and on the other side with the reason. These different forms of *nafs* are connected with the body, but they are not simply its physical powers (*quwwat*), and are not divisible.

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[1] As the author writes: و هیولی دو لفظ عربیست که چیزی ازو بیفکنده اند.

[2] It must be recalled that the doctrine of "spirits" as equivalent to the more modern idea of "forces", was much in vogue in the Middle Ages, and such theories were regarded as quite up-to-date "scientific truths".

Taṣawwur IX (ff. 19–21). On human reason (در معرفت عقل انسانی).

Human reason is a phenomenon of the same order as the different forms of *nafs*, and is chiefly the power of judgment. As distinguished from the former, it is not subjective and individual, but is subject to rigid laws of logic, which are universal. The reasoning power, however, is also liable to errors and fallacies with different individuals and varies in its strength in every case.

Taṣawwur X (ff. 21–26). On the purpose of connection of these partial forms of *nafs* with human bodies (در غرض از پیوستن نفوس جزوی باجساد بشری).

This purpose is the possibility of the progress towards perfection (*kamāl*). Man is a microcosmos, built on the same pattern as the macrocosmos. Human body and mind may be compared to a state in which reason is the king. There are several brief allegories also, regarding human psychology, anatomy, development of the fœtus under the influence of different planets, growth of the child, etc.

Taṣawwur XI (ff. 26–27 v.). On principal specific qualities (در فضل ذاتی).

Every thing, or species, in the organic and inorganic worlds possesses some particular quality which belongs to it in a greater degree than to other things or species. The human *differentia specifica* is neither power of speech, nor mind, but the capability of receiving knowledge, in accordance with (Divine) order, from superhuman sources, and of transferring its blessing, under Divine orders, to others (*'ilm az mā-warā-i-khūd ba-ḥukm qabūl hā-gīrad wa ba-mā-dūn-i-khūd ba-ḥukm adā-i-fayḍ kunad*).

Taṣawwur XII (ff. 27 v.–28). On the perfection which some special quality bestows on the thing to which it belongs, and on the perfection which the thing, to which the quality belongs, bestows on such quality (در کمالات که صفت موصوف را دهد و موصوف صفت را دهد).

Perfection depends on the latent predisposition to good. In man this means what is called "good character". The chapter seems too brief and incomplete to deal with the subject, and gives nothing from which we might form an opinion with regard to the author's views about free-will or the doctrine of predestination.

Taṣawwur XIII (ff. 28–29). On different forms of knowledge (در انواع علوم).

It gives approximately the same division as given in the introduction to the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*. Knowledge is divided into axiomatic (*ḍarūrī*), intuitive (*naẓarī*), indirect (*ta'līmī*), and mystic (*ta'yīdī*).

Taṣawwur XIV (ff. 29–33 v.). On good and evil (در خیر و شر).

Good and evil are illusory and relative. The spiritual is always superior to and better than the physical. In man his reason is superior to other faculties of his soul (*nafs*), and the latter are superior (= better) to his body, which is the source of much evil. Mankind is divided into three categories: *ahl-i-waḥdat* (or *ahl-i-qiyāmat*), i.e. the Imam and saints; *ahl-i-tarattub*,[1] or "people of order", the true believers, and *ahl-i-taḍādd*, the people of enmity and disorder, i.e. the vile and inimical world outside the sect. Evil is like dirty foam which sometimes hides the surface of water so that one cannot see it at all; so one sees sometimes so much of evil that one cannot believe that there is any good in the world. Predestination (*qaḍā wa qadar*) is denied; there are two "angels", the Sābiq and the Shahīd, who try to do their best in order that everything should turn to the best. Misfortunes, ill-luck, and evil are due to "veils" of stupidity, mistake, illusion, passions, etc. These cause us to deviate from the right way, not to notice it, without the help of the Teacher. Relativity of evil is illustrated by different examples, as by the case that water in a flood may be an evil, ruining the houses of poor people. But the evil would be incomparably greater if, by some chance, water should entirely disappear from the earth, dooming everything living to die of thirst, etc.

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[1] It is remarkable that though this term is so written in the present work, and in the treatise *Dar shinākht-i-Imām*, published by me in the *Ismailitica*, the sectarians always pronounce it *tartīb*.

If every quality tends to develop to its perfection, i.e. its highest degree, and if the vile people have to be vile by their nature, why then should the "bearers of Truth" (*muḥiqqān, li-dhikri-him as-salām*) try to make the vile deviate from their own path, and turn towards good? This is done in order to separate those who are good, but erring, from those who are completely bad. Those who obey God (*ḥaḍrat-i-Ṣamadiyyat*) are good, and those bad who do not do this: for this they are punished. But there is nothing like a Yazdān and an Ahrimān, i.e. the source of Light and Good on the one hand and the source of Darkness and evil on the other, as otherwise it would be necessary to admit the existence of two conflicting [illegible]rimal Causes, which is absurd.

[illegible] *Taṣawwur* XV (ff. 33 v.–40 v.). On Paradise and Paradises, [illegible] equ[illegible]ll and Hells, on Purgatories, and on *Ṣirāṭs* (در بهشت well a[illegible] لها [illegible]i, 41; a[illegible] وبهشتها ودوزخ ودوزخها وبرازخ).

Pa[illegible]ī, whi[illegible]Hell, and Purgatory are explained allegorically, as psy[illegible]l[illegible] states of the individual; the orthodox ideas of them (*'ibārāt-i-tanzīlī*) were intended only for the ignorant people, incapable of understanding abstractions. Immortality of the good will be "pleasure without pain, joy without grief, and life without death ".[1] The bad will be deprived of their sensuous pleasures by decomposition of the body, and after their present existence which is " neither death, nor life " (*na-murda wa az zinda uftāda*), they will get " eternal despair " (*nā-ummīdī-i-abadī*). Paradise is knowledge, and Hell is ignorance (in the religious sense, of course). Purgatory is interpreted similarly.

Ṣirāṭ is of three different forms: *mankūs*, *maqlūb*, and *mustaqīm*. It is explained as difficulty of decision, the first in the case of one who is occupied only with matters of this world, the third—of one concerned only with future life, and the second—of one between these two.

Taṣawwur XVI (ff. 40 v.–45 v.). About Adam and Satan (در کار آدم و ابلیس).

The myth of Adam, Satan, Creation, the fall of Adam, etc., as given in the Qur'ān, is intended for unsophisticated people who are unable to understand abstractions. If we admit that there was a time when the world did not yet exist, we must admit also that there was a time when the Creator was not yet the Creator, and this is *kufr*. Neither eternity of the world, nor its being in existence only for a limited time, can be proved.[2] This is beyond human understanding. There were 18,000 worlds, i.e. cosmic epochs, after each of which the world was renewed.[3] The six days of creation are six " historical periods " since Adam. Evolution, however, is denied, and there was no development of protoplasm; (*in‘iqād*) into mankind, but the latter existed always (*naw‘*), *mardum min al-awwal ilā'l-abad būda ast wa bāshad*).

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[1] ابدیت بی الم و سرور بی حزن و حیات بی موت بماند و همه آن باشد
که از

[2] کویم ما نه انکار قدیمی بر عالم کنیم و نه انکار محدثی اش

[3] Fantastic theories of this kind, with amazingly elabo ails, are very popular in Persia. They are usually attributed to the revelation of the Imām Ja‘far Ṣādiq, and are supposed to be all contained in a " large book " by him. In spite of careful search for this book, I was unable to procure it.

this our period of seven thousand years the progenitor of mankind was Adam. Each period has its own law-giver at the beginning, i.e. the prophet. This is the time of *satr*. At the end of every seventh millennial period the Qā'im (i.e. the Imam in his full glory) appears to give the hidden sense of the *sharī'at*, and this is the *qiyāmat*, and the period of *kashf*. After seven times seven millennial cycles, i.e. 49,000 years, begins the *Qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt*, the great Resurrection.[1]

Quite strangely in such philosophical context, the person of Satan (Ḥārith Murra'ī, or Ḥārith b. Murra),[2] and the story of his refusal to admit the superiority of Adam, etc., remain without any allegorical explanation, though Adam's eating of the forbidden fruit is interpreted as divulging (to whom ?) the secret knowledge of *Qiyāmat*, which he himself learned *from Satan*.[3] The Paradise, in which he was living, was his knowledge of Reality (Truth = *ḥaqq*), and he was never expelled from it.

Taṣawwur XVII (ff. 45 v.–50 v.). On different inconsistencies which may be observed in the world, and on the question as to which of these depend on the " bearers of Truth ", or on the " bearers of Falsehood " (در اثبات خلافهای کوناکون که میان عالم واقع میباشد و کیفیت آنچه از آنجمله تعلق بمحقان و مبطلان دارد).

The influence of the stars on man in everything is traced. The purpose of the " Bearer of Truth " (*Muḥiqq*) is to show the right path, to combat vices, etc., even by making use of

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t is not clear whether the proclamation of the *Qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt* by *'Alī dhikru-hu's-salām*, on the 17th Ramaḍān, 559 A.H., i.e. the st, 1164, at Alamūt, was intended as the beginning of this 50th

[2] en mentioned under this name in the *Ummu'l-kitāb* (though his n ally given as 'Azāzīl, or even Ahrimān). This designation, howev peculiar only to Ismailism; in some Sunnite works on *rijāl*, such as the *Tahdhību'l-asmā'* by an-Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1847, vol. i, pp. 137–8), his name is given as Iblīs Abū Murra.

[3] It is remarkable that some sectarian extremists believe that the last *sūra* of the Qur'ān, " say : God is one, etc.," contains the words of Satan.

physical force and of arms. Without him this right way cannot be found. Warnings are given against false teachers and pretenders.

Taṣawwur XVIII (ff. 50 v.–52). On the reason why the "people of Truth", i.e. the Ismailites, are so few compared with the "people of error" (در سبب اندکیء عدد اهل حق وبسیاریء اهل باطل).

The reply consists of platitudes about the paucity of the intelligent, and the multitude of fools in general, etc.

Taṣawwur XIX (ff. 52–52 v.). On the meaning of the terms *dīw*, *parī*, and *firishta*, or angel (در کار دیو و پری و فرشته).

They are explained not as imaginary beings (*wujūd-i-dhihnī*), but as illusions of perception. Another explanation is given in allegorical style, in which *dīw* means a psychical phenomenon based on sensuousness; *parī* is connected with imagination; "angel" means an abstraction, an idea.

Taṣawwur XX (ff. 52 v.–53 v.). On progress from things belonging to the material world towards abstract and spiritual matters (در ترقی از جسمانیات بروحانیات و عقلانیات).

Explanations of the powers which enable one to begin in his search for perfection with things belonging to the body, and end with the highest social wisdom. The *nafs-i-ḥaywānī* prepares the way to the practical mind (*'aql-i-ma'īshatī*), which evolves the sense of law-abiding wisdom which, in its turn, makes one obey the dictates of religion.

Taṣawwur XXI (ff. 53 v.–61 v.). On the beginning of thi
and their return, on this life and the future, on (the pu
of man's coming into this world, and (the purpose
going out, and on the question as to whence M
and whither he goes (ـاد و دنیا و آخرت وآمدن
ر دنیا و بیرون شدن از دنیا و آنکه مردم از کجا آمده اند
و بچه کار آمده وکجا خواهند شد).

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There are four different types of human nature: *juz'ī*, in which the elements of Truth are mixed with those of Falsehood; *juz'ī ki rūy ba-kullī dārad*, i.e. nature with tendencies to spiritual progress; *kullī*, i.e. possessing clear discrimination between good and evil; and *bālā-i-juz'ī wa kullī*, i.e. the one possessing superhuman or divine gifts. The people of the first category have a "beginning", but no *ma'ād*, like false news, which is created, but not supported. The second category may have a *ma'ād*. The third category have the *mabda'* which is the same as their *ma'ād*. The fourth is above human understanding.

The terms *mabda'* and *ma'ād* are explained allegorically in different ways, as evolution of reason; evolution from evil to good, by different degrees; evolution of the "possibly existent" towards the "necessarily existent".

Human beings are either righteous (*muḥiqq*), or erring (*mubṭil*); the latter cannot attain the degree of *wujūb* (existence by inevitable necessity); they are the "weak" (*ḍa'īf*). The righteous are the "strong" (*qawī*).[1] Spirits, or souls in the religious sense (who apparently continue to exist after death), are submerged into a state of dream-like existence, pleasant in the case of the good, painful in the case of the wicked. *Ākhirat*, future life, is a state of certainty (*mubāyanat*), in which there is no right or wrong, truth or lies, good or evil, etc.

The purpose of man's coming to life is the knowledge of the realities of things (*ḥaqā'iqu'l-ashyā'*). The purpose of physical death is the overcoming of the "veil" of sensuousness, [illegible] seeing unperturbed the Truth. So long as man remains [illegible] flesh he cannot free himself from knowing through p[illegible] perception which is subject to errors and illusions. Th[illegible]ous, under the teaching of the "Bearer of the Trut[illegible] [illegible]*ḥiqq*), attain their aim of *waḥdat*, i.e. the existence in wh[illegible]re is no individuality, no good, evil, etc.

The *ḥashr*, or "scattering of bodies", is explained as abandonment, by different forms of reason, of their *nafs*, as after death all good qualities become "angels", and all bad—*dīws*.

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[1] Cf. the *Ismailitica*, pp. 42–3.

The *qiyāmat* is the preaching (*da'wat*) of the Qā'im (*li-dhikri-hi's-salām*).

Taṣawwur XXII (ff. 61 v.–71). On definition of rules of morality (در تهذیب اخلاق).

During life, perfection is attained by moral progress in accordance with the command of the Imam. This may be attained by Divine help (*ta'yīd*), either directly, or by means of the *ta'yīd* received by the teacher (*mu'allim-i-kullī*). The principal virtue consists in placing love and devotion to the Imam above self-love and above the instinct of self-preservation. Some ethical rules are further given in the form of prayers; they contain principles resembling very much those of Christian morals, such as not opposing evil with evil, etc. Asceticism is denounced, and mortification of the flesh is regarded as killing the horse without which the rider cannot save himself.[1] The chief vice is loss of self-control, leading to immoderation in anger, passions, etc. One must think over his actions properly, avoiding all that leads to evil.

Taṣawwur XXIII (ff. 71–74 v.). On various forms of resignation of one's self (در اقسام تسلیم).

Every being in order to attain a higher degree of perfection, must surrender his own will to his superior (*mā-warā-i-khūd*) Every man has to obey his teacher, *pīr*, *dā'ī*; his obedien must be complete. This is not only a rule in human but a law of nature in general, as every power is subject higher one, and ultimately to *'Aql-i-awwal*. Th may be of different forms: *ḍarūrī*, *ṭabī'ī*, and *ikhtiyārī*, i.e. voluntary.

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[1] و مثل [illegible] است که یکی بر اسبی بنشیند و عزم مقصدی کند و پیش ازانکه بمقصدی برسد در راه اسپ را پی کند و ممکن نباشد که پیاده رفتن تواند و در راه حیران بماند و دد و دامش هلاک کند الخ.

Taṣawwur XXIV (ff. 74 v.–93 v.). On the offices of the prophet and of the Imam; on workers of miracles, impostors, lunatics; also on the pupil, teacher, and the Ḥujjat (در کار نبوت و امامت و ذکر معجز ومتنبی و ممرور وذکر متعلم و معلم و حجت).

This is the longest and the most important chapter in the book. In the world two principal tendencies are manifest. One, *taḍādd*, is that of disorder, destruction, chaos, and hatred. The other is that of *tarattub*, i.e. that of peace, order, and progress towards perfection. Man participates in either. The ideal orderly man is the prophet, the giver of law, or exoteric doctrine. The Imam is concerned with the esoteric doctrine of the supreme law of resurrection and future life. Prophets come at the beginning of each "initial" epoch, *dawr-i-mabda'*, while the Imam appears at the beginning of the epoch of "perfection" (*dawr-i-kamāl*). The Prophet is the ideal man, law-giver, and ruler. The Imam is the manifestation of the Logos (*Kalima-i-a'lā*), and his real nature in this capacity is beyond human understanding (*munazzah az taṣawwur wa taṣwīr wa muta'ālī az wuṣūf*). The Ḥujjat is a manifestation of '*Aql-i-awwal* (i.e. '*Aql-i-kullī*), while the prophet represents the *Nafs-i-kullī*. The Prophet receives his teachings from angels and the *ilhām*, transmitting all this to the people. But his *sharī'at* is not meant literally for all, just as it would be wrong to give one single medicine to a crowd of men some of whom are suffering from different [illegible]sses, while others are healthy. For this purpose of [illegible]tiation the *ta'wīl* interpretations are introduced.

[illegible]es and extraordinary acts may be performed by im[illegible]nd charlatans, or attributed to lunatics, who are take[illegible]ome for "inspired" ones. The real miracles are only spiritual, such as, for instance, the supernatural knowledge of the Ḥujjat.

Imāmat. The truth about the Imāmat cannot be given here in full in this epoch of *satr* and *taqiyya*,[1] i.e. necessary precautionary concealment of true beliefs. But it is with the "slaves of the rightly guiding and guided preaching" (*bandagān-i-da'wat-i-hādiya-i-mahdiyya*) that the truth is deposited, anyhow, and communicated to every one according to his capacities.

The Imam is physically similar to an ordinary mortal man, but his Divine nature cannot be understood. He is the centre (*Quṭb*) of the Universe and performs all the functions of the Deity with regard to ruling the world. "He is dressed in the raiments of Divine Unity, to him is granted the eternity of Lordship; Divine names (i.e. attributes) and properties are granted to him, and in these he manifests himself. The lights of that name, and the influence of that attribute become manifest in this way. His word is the word of God the Allhigh, his actions are those of God the Allhigh, etc." [2] Then come the usual Shi'ite *ḥadīths* alluding to the Divinity of 'Alī. He is the First and the Last, etc. "He has no beginning in the beginning, no altering in the middle, and no limit at the end. And, though (*sic?*) he is an eternal and permanent substance (*jauhar*), he is the cause and the origin of all beings, the Lord who gives life to all creatures. From the standpoint of the inner truth he is free from belonging to mankind and having human personality, but, on account of his connection with this bodily world, he belongs to both; his person is of a separate order by itself, and the 'species' to which he belongs is only his person, as both are one till the end of time

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[1] [illegible] حال که ثبت این تصورات کرده میشود روزکار ستر و تقیه است و [illegible] جلته تقیه میفرمایند و فرمان ایشان لذکرهم السلام است که التقیة دینی و [illegible] الخ.

[2] کسو[illegible] خود درو پوشیده و بقای سرمدیت خود باو ارزا نی داشته و از ا[illegible]ت خود اورا صفتی بخشیده که بآن ظهور میکند و انوار آن اسم و آثار آن صفت ظاهر میکردد، و قول او قول خدایتعالی و امر او امر خدایتعالی الخ.

The Word of (Divine) Unity is . . . hereditary and transmittable in one line of descent only, constituting, as it were, one substance, 'reborn in one after another,'[1] which will never cease to the end of eternity."[2]

The offspring of the Imam are of four kinds,[3] i.e. "spiritual" (*rūḥānī*), or "in reality" (*dar ma'nī*), like Salmān Fārsī; bodily (*jismānī*, or *ba-shakl*), like Mast-'Alī[4]; both in spirit and in body, as Ḥasan (the second Imam of the Shi'ites); and bodily, spiritually, and in truth (*dar ḥaqīqat*), as Imam Ḥusayn. An Imam by necessity must be the son of an Imam. Various maxims attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib are cited in support. The transmitting of Imamat is a mystery, and it is not purely physical. Imams are all of the same rank, there are no greater or lesser Imams; but the Imam's being is essential to the world, as there must be a "Perfect One" in it. A legend is told about Abraham, who, after having met Māliku's-salām (i.e. Melchisedech), who was the *Qā'imu'l-qiyāmat* of that time, was sure that the latter was the Creator of Earth and of Heaven (!). This is smoothed by an allegorical interpretation.

The Imam miraculously knows which of his sons is also an Imam. The Divine Substance resting in the Imam is always the same, in spite of his being a child, or an old man. It is also always the same in spite of the difference in the persons of the Imams.

Ordinary people cannot know the Imam as such, i.e. in his Divine substance, but can know him as a man amongst themselves. There are four different ways of knowing him, each appropriate to a class of people according to their capacities.[1] The first is the knowledge of his person, and in this even animals can participate, not to speak about unbelievers. The second is the knowledge of his name and descent or genealogy. In this even enemies and unbelievers can participate. Neither of these is a form of the real knowledge. The third is knowing the Imam as such, believing in him, and obeying him. This knowledge may be received only through a teacher or guide, who possesses it. It is confined only to the followers of the Ismailite community, and enemies do not participate in it. The fourth is knowing the nature of his Divine substance in its full meaning. This form of knowledge is attainable by saints only.

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[1] [illegible] the Qur'ān, iii, 30.

[2] و کلیمهٔ توحید در نصل مقدس و عقب مبارک او متوارث و متناسل د[illegible]
نسل بلکه در یک ذات، ذریة بعضهامن بعض، انقطاع نه پذیرد ابد[illegible]

[3] [illegible] *[illegible]mailitica*, pp. 15, 28–9, where almost the same expressions are us[illegible] present text.

[4] So [illegible]itten also in the treatise *Dar shinākht-i-Imām* (see the *Ismailitica*, p. 15 and note 36 on p. 29). Most probably we may read simply Musta'lī, the name of the ninth Fatimide caliph (487–95/1094–1101), who is not recognized as an Imam by the Persian Ismailis.

The terms "*Imām*" and "*Qā'im*" have the same meaning, but commonly the second term is applied only to the Imam who is powerful politically. When the *Qā'im* manifests himself, i.e. starts his propaganda by actions, not only verbally, he is called "the Master of slaves" (*Māliku'r-riqāb*).[2] It is absolutely impossible to predict how the Imam will make his appearance, i.e. whether he will wish to give his followers peace and prosperity, or will allow great calamities to befall them. It is said sometimes that the Imam cannot manifest himself in these illusory forms (*akwān-i-iḍāfī*). But the manifestation of the Imam is for the purpose of giving to the world the possibility of attaining perfection. He himself is not confined to this world only, but belongs to the Universe. If he would not manifest himself in this form (i.e. as a man), it would not have a connection and relation to him, a[illegible] therefore would disappear. It is for this reason that he assu[illegible] different forms, appearing as a child, or an old man, etc.

The Imam has no need to appear only as a pi[illegible] n complying with the prescriptions of the *sharī'at*, an[illegible] ng diso[illegible] كسر

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[1] Cf. the *Ismailitica*, pp. 14–15 and 27–8, where ag[illegible] passage resembles very much in its wording the corresponding place in the present work.

[2] The text in this passage is somewhat mutilated.

ascetic tendencies. He can do everything, so that one who does not know the real nature of Imamat may be horrified and become mad when watching his actions, because he, the Imam, may order things that are beyond human understanding (*ḥukm az bālā-i-khirad-hā-i-khalā'iq*). The right way follows him, not he the right way (*ḥaqq mutābi'-i-ū'st, na ū mutābi'-i-ḥaqq bāshad*), because he is the source and the measure of the truth. The standards of morality applicable to the ordinary men should not be applied to the Imam. He is not bound to the *taqiyya*. These peculiarities of the nature of the Imam must be remembered well. Many learned and eminent people came to grief by thinking wrongly when observing such irregularities in the behaviour of the Imam.[1]

The people who accompany the Imam are of different classes: the pupils (*muta'allim*), the teachers (*mu'allim*), the *dā'īs*, the "gates of the Secret" (*Bāb-i-Bāṭin*), the "tongue of knowledge" (*Zabān-i-'ilm*), the "greatest proof" (*Ḥujjat-i-a'ẓam*), and the "hand of power" (*Dast-i-qudrat*), thus seven in all. The degree of the *dā'ī* and of the "*Bāb-i-Bāṭin*" is the same, also that of the *Ḥujjat-i-a'ẓam* and of "*Zabān-i-'ilm*". Thus in reality there are only three degrees: pupils, teachers, and the *ḥujjat*, besides the Imam himself.[2] The pupil is one who seeks knowledge for himself only, without the right to transfer it to others. The teacher spreads it to others.

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[1] Cf. the *Ismailitica*, pp. 15 and 28.

[2] These degrees are not exactly the same as those mentioned in the book *Dar shinākht-i-Imām* (*Ismailitica*, pp. 13, 25), and as they are still used by the sectarians; the latter probably are a later development. It is clear, however, that neither these older nor the newer degrees are anything like [illegible]nic degrees, and that they are not connected with the progressive [illegible]ion of the "mystic" knowledge. In the Ismailitic community [illegible]ng the authority of the Agha Khan there are special honorary [illegible] rather ranks, which are bestowed upon the followers for exc[illegible]ervices, etc. Such are the following nine ranks in their desc[illegible]er: *wārith*, *rā'ī*, *'ālī-jāh*, *i'timādī*, *ḥuḍūr-muk'hī*, *nā'ib-muk'h*[illegible], *ḥuḍūr-kāmaḍiyā*, *nā'ib-kāmaḍiyā*, and *kāmaḍiyā*. All of them are connected with special offices in the community, which are concerned with administration, finance, etc., but not particularly with any religious duties.

The Ḥujjat has an inborn and miraculous knowledge, and does not need any instruction from anybody, depending on the light of Divine help (*ta'yīd*). The Ḥujjat is the manifestation of the *'Aql-i-awwal*, i.e. of its illumination (*ishrāq*).[1] He is like the moon, which derives its light from the sun, so, being an ordinary man, he derives his light of knowledge from the Imam. In the absence of the Imam he becomes his lieutenant (*khalīfa*), teaching the people about the Imam, and showing them the way unto him. The Ḥujjats (appearing at different periods) are in reality (*ḥaqīqat*), in their substance (*dhāt*), and in their essential meaning (*ma'nī*) the same, and there are no greater or smaller amongst them.[2]

The *Dast-i-qudrat* has punitive functions, appearing at the periods when the Imam "closes the door of repentance and blessing" to his followers and chastises them. He is as raging fire, destroying everything in his way. Its opposite is the *Zabān-i-'ilm*, the "Tongue of knowledge", which is smoothing and pacifying in its actions, bringing peace and prosperity.

The Imam may use any of these ways in his *da'wat*. And he himself may be called either the "Face of the Eternal One" (*Wajhu'l-Bāqī*) or the "Greatest Attribute" (*Ṣifat-i-a'ẓam*), i.e. the Great Name of God the Allhigh, or the "Manifestation of the Highest Word" (*Maẓhar-i-Kalima-i-A'lā*), or the "Truth-bearer of his time" (*Muḥiqq-i-waqt*). He is still all without the creatures, but the creatures are nothing without him.[3]

Taṣawwur XXV (ff. 93v.–95v.). On the nature of speech on the meaning of speaking, listening, and keeping silen (در ماهیت سخن و گویائی وشنوائی و خواموشی).

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[1] حجت و [illegible] او (امام) مظهر عقل اول باشد یعنی ظهور و اشراق عقل اول [illegible] کسو [illegible] آید الخ.

[2] The doctrine about the Ḥujjat occupies the central pla [illegible] pass *Dar shinākht-i-Imām* (*Ismailitica*, pp. 16–23 and 31–42). In substance, however, both versions agree quite well.

[3] او بی خلائق همه و همهٔ خلائق بی او هیچ الخ.

The power of speech, as usual in the philosophical systems of Muhammadan thinkers, means here the capability of transmitting *logical thought* only. Human beings differ in their capacity. The Imam himself does not preach. This is done by his Ḥujjat, or Nāṭiq, who is the "absolute eloquence" when he speaks what he ought to speak, and "absolute silence", in so far as the guarded mysteries of the Imam's real nature are concerned.

Taṣawwur XXVI (ff. 95v.–112v.). On the epochs of the six prophets, on Imams, and the appearance of the preaching of the *Qā'im* (در ادوار شش پیغمبر اولو العزم علیهم السلام وامامان حق تقدس ذکرهم وظهور دعوت قایم).

The usual doctrine about six millennial periods, at the beginning of which a prophet appears (cf. above, *taṣawwur* xvii), together with a manifestation of the Imam.[1] In the sixth, that of Muḥammad, the doctrine of *sharī'at* has reached its perfection, and after this there had only to be a place for the teaching about *Qiyāmat*. This had to be revealed in the middle of the sixth millennium, and the revelation has been made by Ḥasan of Alamūt. In accordance with the Persian Ismailite tradition, the Imam in the time of Jesus Christ is called Ma'add.[2] After Abraham, "as some people say," the glory has passed to two families (*baṭn*), one glory, of worldly power, remaining in the family of Isḥāq, and that of the religious kingship hidden in the family of Ismā'il. Jesus was the last in the line of Isḥāq. In Muḥammad the prophetic and kingly offices were united.

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[1] Cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 408 and sqq.; also [illegible], *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate*, London, 1923, pp. 25 sqq. [illegible] accounts, as also those given in other works dealing with the matter, [illegible] versions, representing, most probably, local or temporary [illegible] the subject; besides, many of them are, indeed, obviously [illegible], while the hostile authors whose principal aim was purely [illegible]. The version in the present text coincides with that in the *Haft bāb*.

[2] So also in the *Haft bāb*. Ma'add, which was adopted as personal name by several Fatimide khalifs, was probably the name of some pre-Islamic Arab deity.

The prophets mentioned above had their “adversaries”, as is well known. Amongst them it is interesting to find that the adversary of Noah was called Naṣr, and of Jesus Yahūdānī.

Allegorical explanations are given for these six periods and their symbolism in the material world, human body, etc. The six days of creation mentioned in the Qur’ān are an allusion to this. The real *Muḥiqq* is the Imam, who is absolutely necessary for the being of the world.

The principal prescriptions of *sharī‘at* are explained in accordance with the *ta’wīl*: (1) *Shahādat* is to know God as God, i.e. in agreement with Ismailitic doctrine; (2) *Ṭahārat* is to pass beyond (*gudhashta*) custom and *sunnat*; (3) *Namāz* is to speak always of the knowledge of God; (4) *Rūza* is to observe the *taqiyya* and not divulge the religious secrets; (5) *Zakāt* is to give to others what God has given to thee; (6) *Ḥajj* is to take off the hands from this abode of frailty and to seek the abode of eternity; (7) *Jihād* is to make one’s own self non-existent (*ma‘dūm*) in the Substance of God (*dar Dhāt-i-Khudā*). Lengthy comments follow, explaining various details of formulas of prayers (cf. “*Allahu akbar*” means “God is greater than any glory that may be attributed to Him”), rewards for piety, punishment for sins, etc. Further on there are questions about the Qur’ān and its *ta’wīl*. The latter is only approximate, because the real and ultimate meaning of the Qur’ān no one knows except God Himself.

The reason why Abū Bakr and others were caliphs before ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is the same as in the case of night which precedes dawn.

Strange traditions are narrated, attributed to ‘Abdu’ b. ‘Abbās, about ‘Alī’s divinity manifested in the “ of the Camel”. Some of his prophecies and (*bishārat*) are given, apparently containing allus state of things contemporary with the autho raise a *minbar* at Cairo, and will capture Damascus. will go to Dailam, making its rocks soft, and executi who live near and those who live far, and then getti those peoples who live behind it, i.e. those of Māzandarān, Gīlān, and Mūqān. Then I will make war in India, China, and Asia Minor," etc.[1]

The reward of piety is Paradise, and this has been discussed above. Here are given additional allegoric explanations as to what is meant by the "four streams of Paradise". They are forms of knowledge. The promise that "all sins will be forgiven" means that when all that was connected with Truth becomes Truth itself, and when all "possible" (*mumkin*) things drown themselves in the "necessary being" (*wujūb*), which is "pure light" (*nūr-i-maḥḍ*), then there will be, obviously, no place for sins or punishments.

After another note on the Qur'ān and its *ta'wīl* being accessible only to *Ahl-i-ḥaqq*, there are some more prophecies of ʿAlī derived from the *Munājāt* which, in different versions, are usually ascribed to him. The most important "prophecy" is that 500 years after Muḥammad there will be the "Noon of Faith", when the *daʿwat* of the *Qā'imu'l-Qiyāmat* will be started. This is said to have happened in the time of Mustanṣir bi'l-lah (the Fatimide caliph). The first blast of the trumpet of Resurrection has been blown by Sayyid-nā, who was his *Ḥujjat-i-aʿẓam*, and then forty years later by the *Qā'im* himself.[2]

Taṣawwur XXVII (ff. 112 v.–120 v.). On idolaters and the refutation of their doctrines (در کار بت‌پرستان و کسر مقالات ایشان).

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[1] بمصر منبر بر نهم و دمشق بستانم پس ازان بدیلمان روم و کوهستانش را [illegible] نرم بکنم و پس وپیش را دارها بزنم و آن امّتانرا که پس ایشان [illegible] یعنی مازندران و کیلان وموقان بهم برسم و بعد ازان بغزای هندوستان [illegible] الخ [illegible], 41, a [illegible]. (This is a Persian translation; the Arabic passage is full of [illegible] [illegible] misspellings.)

[2] نفخ صور اول دعوت حضرت سیدنا قدس الله روحه و نفخ صور [illegible] قائم علی ذکره السلام از مشرق انتظار طلوع کند، علی ذکره السلام حکم بظهور معنوی فرمودند وفیض انوار دعوت و رحمت بر جهانیان بتافت و کسترانید الخ.

This final portion of the work seems to have been substantially mutilated. As mentioned above, most probably the scribe has done his best to mask some lacunas in the text by adjusting sentences.

In the beginning there are the usual theories about the forms of idolatry, i.e. the worship of the Creator in an image supposed to portray him; the worship of stars, as "first intermediaries" (*mutawassiṭ-i-awwalī*), etc. The author has no doubt about the influence of stars on human fate and nature, and ranks high the spiritual forces (*rūḥāniyyāt*) which govern their movements. But in his opinion man is a more perfect creature than all of them, and naturally, if there should be any abode for Supreme Reason in the Universe, it must be in human form. There are long discussions concerning the planets, their favourite metals, the symbols and images associated with them, etc.

In conclusion it will be useful to add here a few notes on philological peculiarities of the work.

The scribe of this manuscript[1] is a Badakhshānī, Sayyid Munīr (b.) Muḥammad Qāsim. He is the author of an Ismailitic dogmatical treatise in Persian, *Khayr-khwāh-i-muwaḥḥid-i-waḥdat*, lith. in Bombay, 1333. In the latter work his orthography and his Arabic are also very far from being up to the standard. But though the language of h own work shows clear traces of Badakhshānī, and gener of Central-Asian influences, it is quite different from t the *Rauḍatu't-taslīm*. The diction of the latter is full of genuine archaisms which could not have been introduced by a modern scribe. Some expressions are so archaic that it would be possible to suggest an earlier date for the work than the middle of the thirteenth century, if there were no clear indications in the treatise itself as to the approximate earliest date at which it could have been composed.

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[1] The copy is written on ordinary foolscap paper, 15 by The text, 14 lines to a page, occupies 9 by 5 inches. Large, unc khārā *nasta'līq*. There are 120 leaves, but every page is numbered, with several mistakes in numeration. Dated the 26th Ramaḍān, 1342 A.H., i.e. the 1st May, 1924. The orthography is very bad in Persian parts, and Arabic passages are often so mutilated as to become almost unintelligible.

Here these peculiarities are briefly summarized. In the nouns the form of the plural is used very often in cases where the more modern language prefers to use the singular. Sometimes the suffix of the plural is used to show small separate quantities of a material, as in *āb-hā*. The old prefix of the oblique case, *mar-*, is occasionally used, sometimes even without its supplement, *-rā*, as in *mar qawmī ki*, etc. *Farā* instead of *ba* is occasionally used. The plural forms of the pronouns are very common, especially *khūd-hā*. There are also *ū-hā*, but, on the other hand, *māyān* instead of *mā-hā*.

In verbs there are many cases of the use of what is called "Second Future". Perfect and pluperfect are often used with modal prefixes *mī-* and *bi-*. In the present and imperfect tenses these prefixes are very often used together, both in positive and negative forms, as *bi-mī-*, or *bi-na-mī-*, etc. The use of the suffix *-ī* "of duration", or rather of verbal correlation, is extremely frequent. The old form of the modal prefix *mī-*, i.e. *hamī*, may be observed in several cases. But the most peculiar feature of the text is the frequent use [illegible] an apparently dialectical prefix *hā-*, especially with verbs: *āja*[illegible] equi[illegible]*an*, *nihādan*, *dāshtan*, *kardan*, *giriftan*, etc. Cf. *chūnān* 'well a[illegible]*nd ki* . . .; *ānjā ham hā na istad* . . .; *ū-rā ba-ijmā' ha*[illegible]i, 41, a[illegible]*d*, etc.[1] In fact, such instances might establish a sor[illegible]*ā*, whil[illegible] if it were possible to be certain that *hā* standing [illegible]l. 1[illegible] between a noun and a verb is a verbal prefix, and not the suffix of the plural of the noun. It would be most interesting to find out whether any Persian manuscript dating from the thirteenth century possesses this peculiarity. As usual in the old language, the forms *bāshad*, *buwad*, *āyad*, etc., are used where in the modern language one would expect *shawad*.

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[1] This prefix most probably is the same as *har-* which is common in Kurdish and in some Central Persian dialects. It is often, in fact, pronounced simply as *ha-* or *hā-*, and is used in exactly the same sense as in this text, i.e. as an equivalent of the ordinary Persian verbal prefix *bar-*.

July, 1930.

Notes on Some Pali Words

By E. H. JOHNSTON

SOME apology is perhaps needed for publishing these notes, which are not the work of a professed Pali scholar, and I would plead in extenuation that, apart from a few cases suggesting new interpretations of certain difficult terms, most of the words have been chosen for discussion because of their interest for Sanskrit lexicography and other general Indian subjects and that I have avoided Buddhist technical terms.[1]

Akukkuccakajāta. See *PD.* s. *kukkuka.*—This is a stock epithet used with *mahant*, *uju*, and *nava* at *M.* i, 233, and *S.* iii, 141, and iv, 167 of a *kadalikkhandha*, and at *A.* ii, 200 of a *sālalaṭṭhi*, the form of the word being very doubtful according to the MSS. at the three former passages. Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith in the first fascicule of their new Pali dictionary with some hesitation force a meaning out of it from *kukkucca* "grown without fault", which is hardly within the bounds of possibility. *PD.* suggests *akukkukajāta* as read by Trenckner at *M.* i, 233, deriving it from *kukku* (= Skr. *kiṣku*, 24 finger-breadths according to *PW.*), and explain it as "not measurable by the *kukku* measure" and so "of enormous height"; this is also unconvincing. Kern accepts the form *akukkajāta*, taking

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[1] [illegible] use the following abbreviations: *PW.*, Böhtlingk and Roth's [illegible]tersburg Sanskrit Dictionary; *PWK.*, Böhtlingk's shorter Sanskrit [illegible]ry; Schmidt, R. Schmidt's *Nachträge* to the preceding; *KA.*, K[illegible] *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Jolly and Schmidt (quotation by chapter and sen[illegible]mbers); *MBh.*, *Mahābhārata*, Calcutta ed.; Grierson, G. Grier[illegible]*ar Peasant Life*, Calcutta, 1885; Kern, H. Kern's *Toevoe*[illegible]nsterdam, 1916; *PD.*, Rhys Davids and Stede's *Pali-English* [illegible]*onary*. References to Pali works are given in the same way as in the latter, and the quotations from the Nikāya commentaries, when not available in P.T.S. texts, are taken from the Bangkok editions. For Jaina words I have used the *Abhidhānarājendra*, Rutlam, 1913–25, which I indicate by *AR.*

kukka to mean "crooked"; but is there any authority for *kukka*? The number of variants suggests that we have here a very old mistake; they include *akukkujjaka°* at *M.* i, 233 (and *akukkuṭa°* in the commentary), *akukkujaka°* at *S.* iii, 141 (and commentary thereon), and *akukkujaṭa°* and *akkuja°* at *S.* iv, 167. The tradition in favour of a *j* in the word is strong and the appearance of *ṭa* twice may be significant, if the mistake is old, since *ja* and *ṭa* are much alike in Brahmi script. These considerations point to the correct form being *akujjaka°* "not grown crooked", forming a doublet to *uju* in accordance with a regular principle of Pali style, or, perhaps more accurately, "not having bosses growing on it." The corruption could be accounted for by the syllable *ku* having been written twice by the copyist in the archetype.

Adhiccasamuppanna.—There are curiously few recognizable references to other Indian philosophical systems in Pali. Buddhaghosa refers in the *Vism.* and elsewhere to some of the orthodox systems, but *PD.* omits mention of them under *aṇu* for the Vaiśeṣikas (Andersen and Smith equally omit *Vism.* 509, 544), and under *pakati*, *padhāna* (*Vism.* 511, text wrongly *padāna*) and *purisa* for the Sāṁkhyas. The *issaravāda*, frequently mentioned, may mean the Yoga school or the Naiyāyikas or the theistic sects generally. Of the unorthodox systems, however, we can identify the one represented by *adhiccasamuppanna*. The meaning [illegible] the word is made fairly clear by the sentence at *D.* iii, 1[illegible] *asayaṁkāro ca aparaṁkāro ca adhiccasamuppanno at*[illegible] *loko ca*; that is, it signifies something which comes in[illegible]g without being self-caused or caused by anothe[illegible]lar phrases occur at *S.* ii, 22 (not 223, as in *PD.*), [illegible] and elsewhere. The commentary on the *Brahmajālas*[illegible]nfirms this by glossing it with *akāraṇasamuppanna*, an explanation supported by the commentary at *J.* v, 171, on *adhiccaladdhaṁ pariṇāmajan ti*, which has *adhiccaladdhan ti ahetunā laddhaṁ*.

This passage is important as *pariṇāmajaṁ* explains how a thing arises, which is neither self-caused or caused by another. Similarly we find the originator of the view in the *Brahmajālasutta* saying at *D.* i, 29, *amhi etarahi ahutvā sattattāya pariṇato.* Now there is a philosophy, mentioned in Sanskrit literature from the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* down to the Jain commentators as well as by Buddhaghosa at *Vism.* 511, which is known as the *svabhāvavāda* and whose leading principle is precisely that stated above. F. O. Schrader (*Indische Philosophie zur Zeit Buddhas und Mahāvīras*, p. 30) gives its definition by a Jain commentator as *vastunaḥ svata eva tathāpariṇatibhāvaḥ*, a remarkable parallel to the last of the Pali passages quoted above, while we are reminded of the first passage by the description of the svabhāvavādins' views in the commentary on *Tattvasaṁgraha* (Gaekwad's Or. Ser. xxx), 110, *ta evaṁ āhur na svato nāpi parato bhāvānāṁ janma.* The matter is clinched by the *Mahabodhijātaka*, one of the five heretical views in which is called the *ahetukavāda*, corresponding to the *ahetuvāda* of the *Jātakamālā* version, where at xxiii, 17, it is definitely identified with the *svabhāvavāda.* The commentary on verses 16–18 of the Pali version (*J.* v, 237) describes the system by *ayaṁ loko saṁgatiyā c'eva sabhāvena ca anuvattati pariṇamati.* Verse 39 again says of its exponents *Y'āhu n'atthi viriyan ti hetuñ ca apavadanti Ye parakāraṁ attakārañ ca Ye tucchaṁ samavaṇṇayuṁ*, recalling the phrase with which the discussion started.

(ā) Whence then comes the expression, *adhiccasamuppanna*
āja produced by natural development"? Clearly it is modelled
equi *paṭiccasamuppanna* "produced in dependence on some-
well a else", and is therefore to be referred to *adhi* and the
ri, 41, a not to Skr. **adhṛtya*, as is done by *PD.*, following
Ch, whil Now in this conception of *pariṇāma* there is a
kins 1. between the svabhāvavādins and the Sāṁkhyas;
the latter, in fact, give *svabhāva* as the cause why *prakṛti* comes into action on contact with *puruṣa* (*Sāṁkhyakārikā*

27 and Gauḍapāda thereon, and cf. *MBh.* xii, 8034 ff., which is definitely Sāṁkhya as against xii, 8690 and 8716–17, and xiv, 1360, rejecting the *svabhāvavāda*). Further it has been pointed out by Jacobi (*Die Entwickelung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, 1923, pp. 11–14, 71 and 113), that the scriptural authority for the *pariṇāma* theory was found in a materialistic interpretation of the sixth *prapāṭhaka* of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and it is precisely there that we find *adhi* used in the manner required to explain *adhicca*, namely, vi, 2, 3, *tejasa eva tad adhy āpo jāyante* and 2, 4, *adbhya eva tad adhy annādyaṁ jāyate* ; *adhi* may be a preposition here or joined with *jāyate* (v. *PW.* s. *jan, adhi*+),[1] but in either case it has the sense required and explains the Pali term.

The word *adhiccāpattika* at *M.* i, 443, should properly be explained on similar lines to mean a person committing an offence unintentionally, but the commentary takes it as standing for an occasional (*kadāci āpajjati*), as opposed to *abhiṇṇāpattika*, a habitual offender.

Apasavya.—This word is the opposite of *padakkhiṇa* and should be restored at *Kvu.* 472 and *Ud.* 50. It is of frequent occurrence in the *MBh.* in the sense of "widdershins", going round an object with the left side to it, i.e., the opposite way to the sun. The significance of the action lies in its magical efficacy ; thus it is used of the movements of animals, etc., which constitute bad omens, e.g. ii, 2648 ; iv, 1463 ; v, 4849 ; vi, 5209 ; vii, 205 ; ix, 544 ; and xvi, 2. So a warrior makes similar circles round his foe, not merely to expre[illegible] contempt, but also to cause him bad luck, e.g. iii, 760-[illegible] vii, 8462 and 8600; and viii, 4085 and 4117. At v, 4703, *apasavyaṁ bhū* means "be contemptuously disregarded". Everything that is ordinarily done *pradakṣiṇa* is done *apasavya* at funeral ceremonies, e.g. xiii, 7776. As used in the two Pali passages quoted it may mean not more than an expression of disrespect, and with *Kvu.* 472, should be compared the use of *padakkhiṇa* in the corresponding passage, ib., 478.

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[1] The former explanation is perhaps more likely, for the Brā[illegible] use *ātmano'dhi* with *nirmā* for creation by evolving out [illegible]lf (H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 171)[illegible]ds to expressions like *MBh.* v, 2189–90, *Gāṅgeyaḥ Śāntanor*[illegible]*ujñe.* The connection of *adhi* with the idea of evolution goes back [illegible]Veda ; thus in the famous creation hymn, *RV.*, x, 129, 4, we have *kāmas tad agre sam avartatādhi*, and there seems to be a definite contrast between *adhi* and *pari*, the latter governing the material out of which a thing is made.

Ājava.—Occurs in an enigmatic passage at *Sn.* 945:—

Gedhaṁ brūmi mahogho ti ājavaṁ brūmi jappanaṁ |
Ārammaṇaṁ pakappanaṁ kāmapaṅko duraccayo ||

Nd.[1] 479 takes the six words in the first three pādas to be synonyms of *taṇhā*, the text reading *ācamaṁ* with *ājavaṁ* as a variant. *SnA.* has *ājavaṁ* and *pakampanaṁ*. *PD.* accepts *ācamaṁ*, a word for whose existence no corroboration can be quoted. The *ti* of the first pāda suggests that we have a parallel between *taṇhā* and a river; *gedha* is the *mahogha*, the "great flood" of the river; *jappana* its *ājava*, *ārammaṇa* its *pakampana*, and *kāma* its *paṅka*. If this is on the right lines, *pakappana* seems impossible, and I accordingly read *pakampana*. It might mean the "quaking" of quicksands; anyone who has had much experience of fording Indian streams and seen the sands shake will appreciate its applicability. Or it might mean "wind", a sense certified by *Śiśupālavadha*, i, 61. The form *ājava* I would refer to the root *jū* "speed on", "urge on" (*ājavanatthena ājavaṁ*, *SnA.*), quoting in support the word *ājavaṁjava*, whose repeated use in the *Yaśastilaka* as equivalent to *saṁsāra* is quoted by Schmidt, and which is well authenticated in Buddhist Sanskrit. At *Buddhacarita*, xii, 41, according to the old MS., we should read *ājavaṁjavatāṁ hitvā*, while *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Bibl. Buddh. xxi), p. 6, l. 10–11, has *saṁsaraṇam saṁsāra ājavaṁjavībhāvo janmamaraṇaparamparā*. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* (Bibl. Buddh. iv), xxv, 9, has *ājavaṁjavībhāva* explained by

Candrakīrti as *āgamanagamanabhāvajanmamaraṇaparamparā* and it occurs again in the commentary, ib., p. 218 (see the editor's note thereon).[1] The precise shade of meaning seems to be the " continuous hurrying on " of beings from birth to death, to fresh birth and fresh death, for countless periods. I would suggest therefore that *ājava* in this passage of the *Sn.* means the continuous " speeding on " of the river, i.e. its current, so that it is a synonym of *vega*.

Ādiyati.—PD. divides this into two verbs only, corresponding to Skr. *ādīyate* and *ādīryate*, but there is a third one, corresponding to *ādriyate*, of which the gerundive forms, *ādiyitvā* and *anādiyitvā*, are used frequently in the same way as *ādṛtya* and *anādṛtya* in Sanskrit (several instances attributed to the first-mentioned *ādiyati* in *PD.*). I have also noticed from this verb *ādiyanti* with genitive at *D.* iii, 203–4 ; and *ādiyi* at *Vin.* iv, 225 ; while its derivation is clearly recognized at ib., iv, 218, *anādaro nāma saṁghaṁ . . . nādiyati*.

Udu.—At *D.* iii, 167, we read *yaṁ pi . . . Tathāgato . . . pubbe manussabhūto samāno na visaṭaṁ na ca visācitaṁ na pana viceyyapekkhitā uju tathā pasaṭam udumano piyacakkhunā bahujanaṁ udikkhitā ahosi*, and on the next page *uju tathā pasaṭam udumano*. *Udu* does not occur elsewhere and, though explained by the commentary as equal to *uju*, seems to be a quite impossible word.[2] Surely we have here a commentator's blunder in the division of the words and presumably we should read in both cases either *pasaṭaṁ mudumano* or *pasaṭamudumano*, as one word. *Pasaṭa* here is apparently equivalent in form to Skr. *prasṛta* and in meaning to *praśrita* "deferential", "modest" which is frequently found written wrongly as *prasṛta* (many instances in *PW.*). But it could also be explained as a regular formation direct from *praśrita,* in view of Prakrit analogies, e.g. in the Girnar version of the Tenth Rock Edict *usaṭa* = Skr. *ucchrita* (but otherwise Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka,* p. lvi, n. 4), the Rummindei pillar's *usapāpita* = Skr. *ucchrāpita* and the similar later examples in Pischel's Grammar, § 64. *Visaṭa* in this passage seems to be the opposite of *pasaṭa,* but I know of no Sanskrit parallel to the use.

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[1] The same word probably also occurs in *Kāśyapaparivarta*, ed. v. Staël-Holstein, Shanghai, 1926, p. 221, in the mutilated word . . . *dajavajavitā*.

[2] I exclude as too far-fetched the possibility of any connection with the rare Vedic word *ṛdu*, known only in compounds and of uncertain meaning (see Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda*, s. *ṛdūdara*).

Udrabhati.—The form is uncertain, the variants being *udrahati* and *uddhahati,* and no tenable explanation of the word has been given. At its only place of occurrence, *M.* i, 306, the commentary attributes to it the meaning "eat", but "pick up", "glean", would suit the context rather better. I would connect it with the Skr. root *udhras* (*Dhātupāṭha* 9, 52, and 10, 202) in the sense *uñche*; there is a doubt whether the initial *u* belongs to the root or is mute, but the entry of it in Appendix IV, p. 343 and p. 352, of B. Liebich's edition of the *Kṣīrataraṅginī* (Breslau, 1930) shows the balance of opinion to be strongly in favour of the root being *dhras,* not *udhras.* It seems to occur only in Halāyudha's semi-lexicographical work, the *Kavirahasya* (ed. Heller), which illustrates the meanings of verbs. The longer recension, 208, runs:—

nodhrasnāti naraḥ kaścit subhikṣe tasya maṇḍale |
param udhrasayanty eke ye bhikṣāvratacāriṇaḥ ||

The shorter recension, 163, substitutes for the first line *nodhrasnāti jano vittaṁ yasya rāṣṭre samṛddhimān* and *udhrāsayanty* in the second.[1] It is hardly necessary to go through the many variants and the commentaries on these lines, but they point to the correct forms being *uddhrasnāti* and *uddhrāsayanty*, rather than those given in the text. This also corresponds to the form of the root known to the Pali grammarians; for in the *Saddanīti* (ed. Helmer Smith), the *Dhātumālā* section has 1261 *uddhasa* (*uñche*), *uddhasnāti*, and 1645 *dhasa* (*uñche*), *dhāseti dhāsayati*. I conclude that at *M*. i, 306, we should read *uddhaseyyuṁ* or *uddhāsayeyyuṁ* and translate "glean", "pick up".

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[1] *Udhrasnāti* in the first line means "steals".

Udraya, uddaya.—*PD.* takes this to Skr. *udaya*, which, though the usual solution, has obvious difficulties; its only use is in phrases such as *sukhodraya*, for which the Sanskrit is not only *sukhodaya*, but also *sukhodarka*, which corresponds more closely in sense to the Pali use, and I would propose to take it to the latter through an intermediate **udraka*.

Upalāpana.—It is best to clear the way to a discussion of the meaning of this political technical term, whose form according to the variants and Pali usage should probably be *upalāpanā*, by settling first the meaning of *upalāpeti*. Leaving aside for the moment its use in a political sense at *S*. i, 102, it is used at *Vin*. iv, 140, in the sense of "speak kindly to", "encourage", and ib., i, 119, and iii, 90, joined with *saṁgaṇhāti* in a slightly more developed sense of "talk someone over", so as to make him favourably disposed to the person talking. Ib., iii, 21 and 62, and *PvA*. 36 and 46, it is joined with *āmisena* in the sense of "talk over", "tempt", "persuade", to do something wrong. It goes further at *J*. iii, 198, 265, and iv, 56, to mean "talk over", "persuade", someone to do something to his disadvantage, in fact almost "cozen". *J*. iv, 215, in *PD*. is a wrong reference and the context shows that *upalāpentī* at *PvA*. 276 is a mistake for *upalāḷentī*. In Sanskrit the verb is only used once, at *Jātakamālā* xix, 18, where the slave wishes as the worst possible fate for the unknown thief that he may be reborn as a *grāmaṇī* who should be *strīnṛttagītair upalāpyamānaḥ*. Speyer translated it "exhilarated", a meaning accepted by *PWK*. and Schmidt, but the Pali examples show that it should be rendered "seduced", "led away".

Turning now to the political sense, we get *upalāpana* as one of the reasons at *Miln.* 117, for which Vessantara did not give gifts; the context leaves the exact sense uncertain (*Miln.* 115 in *PD.* is a wrong reference). Again at *D.* ii, 76 (= *A.* iv, 21) we are told that the Vajjis are so united that it is impossible for Ajātasattu to conquer them except by *upalāpana* and *mithubheda*. There is a parallel to this at *S.* i, 102, where among the ways a king may use to overcome his enemies are the *mantayuddha* (*mantena bhedayituṁ*) and the *dhanayuddha* (*dhanena upalāpetuṁ*). The commentary on *D.* ii, 76, explains *upalāpana* by *upalāpanā nāma—alaṁ vivādena pi, idaṁ samaggā homa ti hatthiassarathahiraññasuvaṇṇādīni pesetvā saṁgahakaraṇaṁ. Evaṁ hi saṁgahaṁ katvā vissāsena sakkā gahetuṁ*, and *mithubheda* by *aññamaññaṁ bhedaṁ katvā pi sakkā ete gaṅhetuṁ*. The commentary on *S.* i, 102, runs: *upalāpetuṁ ti aññamaññaṁ bhinditum. Yathā dve janā ekena maggena na gacchanti evaṁ kātuṁ*. *Bheda* is a well-known political term in Sanskrit, meaning the causing of dissension among enemies, particularly if the enemies consist of allies or of a king and his feudatories, and is used in Pali thus at *Mhvs.* 36, 44. The case under discussion deals not with a league of allies, so that *mithubheda* cannot = *mittabheda* as suggested by *PD.*, but with a tribal confederacy. *Mithu* is not to be explained by the Vedic *mithu* but by Sanskrit *mithaḥ* "mutual", as is also to be inferred from the commentary, so that *mithubheda* means the causing of mutual or internal dissension among the members of the confederacy. *Mithobheda* occurs, in fact, in the general sense of "dissension" several times in the *MBh.*, e.g. ii, 2111; iii, 14417; v, 3322, 4890, and 5838; viii, 4408, and xii, 5323. Seeing that *upalāpeti* and *upalāpaya* mean "tempt", "seduce", and that *upalāpana* involves the giving of money, it can hardly mean anything else than gaining over to one's own side members of an enemy confederacy by bribes; in other words, subornation. This device is well known at all periods of Indian history and in Sanskrit was called *upajāpa*, a word very common in *KA.*, where according to Shamasastry's *Index Verborum* it occurs as noun or verb over 40 times. The earliest uses of the word in this sense outside *KA.* are *MBh.* xii, 2633 and 5311, and *Manu* vii, 197, and ix, 275; all probably later than *KA.* It looks as if the word had been invented in this sense by Kauṭilya, who is fond of such euphemistic expressions. But whether we ought to read *upajāpana* and *upajāpeti* in the Pali passages or whether we are to assume that they retain an older term and that the *KA.* is subsequent to them, I am unable to determine.

There remains the question whether we are to derive the word from the root *lap*, as is done for *upalāpaya* by *PWK.* and Schmidt, or from *lī*. For the first alternative we have the analogy of *upajāpa* and the use of *upalāpeti* in Pali with the suggestion that the idea of talking lies behind it. Against it we have no other recorded use of *lap* compounded with *upa*. But *lī* is used once with *upa*, as a simple verb at *MBh.* viii, 4170–2, in the sense of "cling", "resort for support to", and *upalaya* is found in a somewhat uncertain sense ("resort", haunt") at *Jātakamālā* xviii, 20, while the *PW.* shows that Indian grammarians gave to the causatives of *lī* alone, as well as compounded with *ud* and *apa* the sense of "deceiving" (cf. *Pāṇ.* i, 3, 70, and *Mahābhaṣya* iii, 37, 19–22[1]), though it prefers to take these formations to *lap*. There is, in fact, no certain occurrence of the causative of *lap* till a very late date, except doubtfully at *Chāndogya Up.* iv, 2, 5, where I prefer the traditional text to Böhtlingk's emendation and take *ālāpayiṣyathāḥ* as the causative of Pali *allīyate*, i.e. "attract", "win over". On the whole, I think, the word comes from *lī* in the sense of causing to resort to oneself and so of seduction, later Pali use reading into it by a mistaken derivation the idea of talking.

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[1] Cf. the use of *apalāpya* by the commentary on *Kāmasūtra* (Kashi Sanskrit series. No. 29), vi, 2, 19.

Upavāsa.—This word is used in a sense not noticed by *PD*. at *A*. v, 40, where *papikā issā* is illustrated by the feelings that the underlings (*dāsa* and *upavāsa*) of a wealthy man might entertain towards him. The commentary glosses it, not very illuminatingly, with *nissāya upasaṁkamitvā vasanto*. The exact meaning is made clear by its only occurrence in Sanskrit in the same sense, viz. at *KA*. iii, 10, 15 (cf. J. J. Meyer's translation of the *KA*., p. 775, Zusatz on p. 270, l. 46), where the context requires it to mean the undertenant of a field, probably of the semi-servile class known as *ardhasītika*. As an attempt has recently been made with some success to explain away Megasthenes' reference to the absence of slaves in India by showing that the Greek conception of slavery differed radically from the Indian (B. Breloer, *Kauṭaliya Studien II. Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasthenes u. Kauṭalya*, Bonn, 1928), it is worth while pointing out that Pali uses *dāsa* to indicate "slaves" in the Greek sense at the well-known passage *M*. ii, 149, where it is stated that in the Yona, Kamboja, and other foreign countries only two classes of men are known as against the four castes of India, viz. masters (*ayya*) and slaves (*dāsa*).

Ummagga.—*PD*. omits a curious use of this word, spelt *ummaṅga* in this sense in the Siamese editions, which is briefly considered by Kern, though I cannot trace his reference to *A*. ii, 219. At *A*. ii, 177, and *S*. v, 16 and 171, it is said in praise of one who has asked a question that is very much to the point, *bhaddako ummaggo bhaddakaṁ paṭibhāṇaṁ kalyāṇī paripucchā* and at *A*. ii, 189, it is joined with *abhinīhāra* and *pañhasamudācāra* according to which one may gauge the intelligence of the questioner. The meaning of the latter triad is illustrated by a simile; the person questioned is like a man who sees a fish rise and gauges its size by *macchassa ummaggo*, *ūmighāto*, and *vegāyitattaṁ* (this last omitted by *PD.*). In the commentaries it is defined at *A.* ii, 189, by *pañhummaṅgo*, *S.* v, 16, *pañhāpañhavīmāṁsanaṁ pañhagavesanaṁ* and ib., 171 *pañhamaggo pañhagavesanaṁ*. But on *A.* ii, 177, we have *ummaṅgo ti ummujjanaṁ paññāgamanan ti. Paññā eva vā ummujjanatthaṁ ummaṅgo ti attho*, where *paññā* is evidently a mistake for *pañha*. The same mistake occurs at *SnA.* 50, which classes *ummagga* with *ussāha*, *avaṭṭhāna*, and *hitacariyā* as forming *catasso buddhabhūmiyo* and explains it by *ummaggo paññā pavuccati*, thus making nonsense of the classification. The inference from these passages is that *ummagga* in this sense is a doublet of *ummujjana* (just as Sanskrit has *sammārga* and *sammārjana* from *mṛj*) and means the emergence of a desire for knowledge leading to questioning.[1]

This throws some light on some curious words occurring in Buddhist Sanskrit; for *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, p. 4, has a parallel phrase, *udāraḥ khalu ta unmiñjo bhadrikā mīmāṁsā kalyāṇaṁ pratibhāṇam*, where Max Muller reported the Chinese translators to understand *unmiñja* as meaning "question". It occurs again in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (ed. J. Rahder), p. 18, *sattveṣu mahākaruṇonmiñjaḥ sambhavati*, the Tibetan taking it to mean "development", "spreading out"; *unmajjana* is used somewhat similarly as equivalent to *utpāda* at *Abhidharmakośa* (tr. by L. de la Vallée Poussin), II, p. 66. The same sūtra, p. 39, has *unmiñjita* and *nimiñjita*, which the Tibetan translates by *brkyaṅ* "stretching forth", "putting out", and *bskum* "drawing in", "contracting", respectively. The latter reminds us at once of the Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit *sammiñjana*, *sammiñjati*, *sammiñjayati*, used of "contracting", "drawing in" the arm, of which the current explanation (*sam* and *iñjayati*) is far from satisfactory. Further *Mahāvyutpatti*, 244, 41, in a sentence describing the Buddha's smile which I cannot discover in the descriptions in extant works, uses *unmiñjita* and *nimiñjita* of the emergence of the rays from the Buddha's mouth and their return to it; the phrase is suggestive of the Pali expression *ummujjanimujjaṁ karoti*. Now the root *miñj* is known to Sanskrit grammarians but not in any sense that fits. But both Pali and Prakrit have the form *miñjā* for Skr. *majjan*, and I would suggest on that analogy that *miñj* is a Prakrit form of the root *majj* adopted in Buddhist Sanskrit and Pali in a specialized sense, as is so often the case with the rarer of the two forms of a doublet. This seems to me the only explanation that covers all the facts.

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[1] The Jain term *ummaggadesanā* has perhaps the same origin.

Kudrūsa, *kudrūsaka*.—This is paspalum scrobiculatum, known in Sanskrit as *kodrava* and *koradūṣa*; so far as I can ascertain, while Pali has no form from *kodrava*, the modern Indian vernaculars as well as Singhalese know only forms from *kodrava*. *AR*. has the forms *kodūsaga*, *koḍūsaga*, and *koḍūṣaka*. *Koradūṣa* according to the *PW*. goes back to *Śuśruta* and the *MBh*. (add *Mārkāṇḍeya Purāṇa* 49, 68 to the references), and, if it is right in dividing it into *kora* and *dūṣa* ("articulation-spoiling"?), the presumption is that the word was derived from some non-Aryan tongue and underwent a modification of form by popular etymology, so as to refer to the well-known poisonous properties of this grain, when not specially prepared. I quote the word in case someone reading this article may be able to refer me to a derivative surviving in any of the modern languages of India; if its use could be assigned to any particular part of India, it would be a pointer to the three passages of the Canon in which it occurs not having been written till the sect from which the Pali Canon derives had settled in that part of India.

Kubbara.—All the dictionaries, following tradition, agree in taking Skr. *kūbara*, Pali *kubbara*, to mean the pole of a chariot whose proper name is Skr. *īṣā*, Pali *īsā*, though Taranatha Tarkavacaspati adds the meaning of *rathikasthāna*. That this is wrong is shown by *A.* iv, 191, where it is clearly distinguished from *īsā*; in one case a vicious horse breaks the *īsā* by pushing with his flank against it and in another he lashes out against the *kubbara* and breaks the *tidaṇḍa*. The latter can hardly be anything else than the part called *triveṇu* in Sanskrit; these were apparently three poles (or possibly a framework of three sticks or pieces of bamboo) on the front of the chariot to hold the pennons. At *MBh.* ix, 443, we have *triveṇudaṇḍakāvṛtā*, while *MBh.* viii, 4077, and *Bhāgavata Pur.* iv, 29, 18, refer to the flags (*dhvaja*) being three in number. *MBh.* xiv, 2447 has *patākādaṇḍeṣu* (i.e. more than two) of a single chariot and at *MBh.* iii, 12294, the *kūbara* is a mountain, of which the axle is the foot and the *triveṇu* the bamboos on it, i.e. projecting above, or fitted on to, the *kūbara*.

Next consider *Vv.* 64² which runs :—

sovaṇṇamayā te rathakubbarā ubho
phalehi aṁsehi atīva saṁgatā |

The commentary explains : *rathakubbarā ubho ti rathassa ubhosu passesu vedikā. Yo hi sobhanatthañ c'eva upari thitānaṁ guttatthañ ca ubhosu passesu vedikākārena parikkhepo karīyyati, tassa purimabhāge ubhosu passesu yāva rathīsā tāva hatthehi gahaṇayoggo rathassa avayavaviseso, idha so eva kubbaro ti adhippeto. Ten'evāha: ubho ti. Aññatha paṇa rathīsā kubbaro ti vuccati. Phalehi ti rathupatthassa dakkhiṇavāmabhedehi dvīhi phalehi. Aṁsehi ti kubbaraphalehi patiṭṭhitehi heṭṭhimaaṁsehi.* In this passage I read the variant *rathupatthassa* for the text's *rathupatthambassa*, because in Sanskrit *upastha* is the name of the platform on which the occupants stand and the Pali equivalent *rathapañjara* at *Vv.* 83¹ is glossed *rathūpattha* by the commentary ; *upatthamba* is meaningless in the context. This statement shows that the *kubbara* is the heavy curved top or rail of the framework which ran round the front and two sides of the platform of the car to protect the occupants standing on it; this rail is a very obvious feature in the chariots pictured in the Sanchi basreliefs on the north, west and south gateways of the main stupa. The *aṁsa* is the panel which fitted into the rail at the top and the big beams (*phala*) at each side of the platform. Almost every word of this explanation can be illustrated from Sanskrit literature. For instance, in similes the *kūbara* is compared to something which is double (*MBh.* xii, 8653, and *Bhāg. Pur.* iv, 29, 19). On the stage the actor indicates that he is on a chariot by grasping a bow in one hand and taking hold of the *kūbara* with the other (*Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. Grosset, xiii, 88); the latter action is shown on several of the Sanchi basreliefs and Bhīṣma does it, when hard hit, at *MBh.* iv, 2084. Again at *Buddhacarita* iii, 60, the Buddha, on hearing of death, feels faint and leans with his shoulder against the *kūbarāgra*; obviously he would not get out of the chariot and go round to the horses' heads to get support. So in the *MBh.*, when a warrior is knocked out but not so severely as to cause him to fall on to the floor of the chariot, he leans against the *kūbara* (vii, 5704) or more commonly against the flagpole (vi, 2862, 4630; vii, 7428, 9328, and 9355); this recalls the association of *kubbara* and *tidaṇḍa* in the first Pali passage quoted above. For *vedikā* I may cite *MBh.* viii, 4707, where Karṇa's chariot with its wheel sunk into the ground is compared to a *savedika caitya*; cf. also iv, 1825, and vi, 660. For *phala* I would invite attention to Grierson, § 178, and the illustration opposite p. 32, showing that the similar boards in a modern cart are still called *phar* in Bihar.

The similar rail on a Greek chariot is called ἄντυξ, whose primary meaning is "rim" and for which Liddell and Scott give several quotations; e.g. *Iliad* v, 262 and 322, the reins are tied to it. Ib., v, 728–9, of a chariot, "the body is plaited tight with gold and silver thongs and two rims there are that run about it" (A. T. Murray's translation in the Loeb classics); an exact parallel to the double *kubbara*. Ib. xi, 535, as Hector drives over the dead, "with blood was all the axle sprinkled beneath and the rims round about the car, with the drops that smote on them from the horses' hooves and from the tires." Sophocles also uses the word in the plural.

Dhammapāla, it will be noted, knows the real me of *kubbara* but states that it was generally understood mean the pole, as given in modern dictionaries. How are we to account for this? The obvious explanation is that chariots had gone out of use by his day. In the *MBh.*, which reflects a more ancient state of affairs than prevailed at the time the accounts of the battles took their present form, the heroes invariably fight in chariots and it is only the secondary characters who ride on elephants, and that only in obviously late episodes. By the time of Alexander's campaigns kings ride elephants in battle but chariots, holding six persons, were still the mainstay of Porus' army, according to Curtius, and Megasthenes mentions chariots holding three persons. Khāravela's inscription (Acts of Sixth Intern. Congr. of Or., part iii, sect. 2, pp. 133 ff.) seems to imply that chariots were still an important element in his army, if not so prominent as elephants, while the Sanchi sculptures depict chariots in their illustrations of old legends as used for riding in but not apparently for purposes of war. The latest inscription known to me that mentions chariots is that of Rudradāman (*Ep. Ind.* viii, p. 44, l. 13), while the Amaravati sculptures, according to the available photographs and the remains in the British Museum, do not show any at all. The Gupta inscriptions never refer to chariots and Bāṇa describes Harṣa's army as consisting solely of elephants, cavalry, and foot. The inference is that the chariot began to decline in favour as soon as it was found practicable to train elephants to fight (not in general use, perhaps, more than a couple of centuries before Alexander's time) and that by about A.D. 200, or soon after, their use had entirely ceased.[1] Now in the *Amarakośa* *īṣā* is given as applied to ploughs only, despite countless passages in the epics and earlier works, showing that its chief meaning is that of the pole of a chariot, while *kūbara* is defined by the synonym *yugandhara*, which is taken to mean the pole. But quite possibly *yugandhara* originally meant "that which holds the pair", not "the yoke", and referred to the *kūbara's* function of holding the panels on each side in place.

I am not competent to enter into a discussion of the derivation of the word,[2] but should like to suggest for consideration that in view of its curved shape as depicted at Sanchi, it may be connected with forms like *kubja* "crooked", "humpbacked", and Hindi *kūbaṛ* "hump".

Gayaphaggu.—The commentator on *Th.* 1, 287 and 345, in his ignorance of Bihar topography, takes this word to mean a feast at Gaya in the month of Phaggu (cf. *Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 181 and 197, and *Deśīnāmamālā*, ed. Pischel, p. 210, l. 15, *phaggū vasantotsavaḥ*). Actually it is the name of the river which flows past the town of Gaya and is still known as the Phālgu. It is formed by the junction of the Nilājan and the Mohāna two miles below Bodhgaya (v. *Gaya Gazetteer* by L. S. S. O'Malley, pp. 8–9), and at the town of Gaya runs below a rocky bank with many ghats, where it is very sacred. That it is a river, not a feast, explains why at the latter of the two passages quoted above reference is made to the Brahman ritual of three bathes a day, which took place daily, not merely at feasts.

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[1] If this argument is sound, it is of some value in dating the *KA.*, which on other grounds I suggested in the *Journal* for 1929, pp. 77 ff., should probably be placed somewhere in the first two centuries A.D. For it knows various uses for chariots, but displays no enthusiasm for their use for military purposes as compared with elephants and cavalry; this seems to corroborate the view I then expressed.

[2] It is not necessarily of Indo-Aryan origin; the Vedic equivalent seems to have been *skambha*, though it was presumably of a different shape, to judge from *RV.* i, 34, 2, *trayaḥ skambhāsaḥ skabhitāsa ārabhe*, which recalls what I have said above about holding on to the *kūbara*.

Gāmilla.—Occurs at *DhsA.* 279, in the sense of "villager"; *gāmillaka* on the following page. The corresponding Prakrit formations in *-la* and *-lla* have been discussed by Pischel[1] in his grammar at § 595 and, as their sporadic appearance in Pali has escaped *PD.*'s notice, I give a list of such as I have noted. In *-alla, -āla*: *mahallaka* from *mahant*, which still preserves its original meaning of "great" at, e.g., *Vin.* ii, 120, 166, and iii, 156, and *Vv.* 64^1, as has *mahālaka* in the Aśoka edicts, though in the Seventh Pillar Edict the compound *vayomahālaka* marks the transition of meaning to "old": *sukhallika* probably: *sukhumāla*, though belonging in sense to *sukumāra*, either comes from *sukhuma* or has been influenced in form by it. In *-illa*: *aṭṭhilla* (to *aṭṭhi* rather than to Skr. *asṭhīlā*): *pisācillikā*: *divilla* (= *divya* at *Dpvs.* xvi, 14): *sammilla* in *sammillabhāsin* from *samma* or *sammā.* In *-ulla*: *duṭṭhulla*: *padulla* in *padullagāhin* at *Th.* i, 1217, belongs here probably but is hard to explain. Reading, as suggested by the variants, *padullabhāṇī* one could take it to *pada* in a pejorative sense, "speaking wild words," which would suit the context, or is it a copyist's inversion for *dapulla*° or *dappulla*°, the latter being a known Prakrit form for *darpin*?

Ghāṭā.—Is used of a cow at *S.* iv, 196, where it is printed twice as *ghāṭā*, twice as *ghaṭā*. *PD.* gives the reference under *ghaṭa* but does not explain the sense, and Woodward, reading *ghaṭā*, translates it "forehead" on the strength of the commentary's "between the two horns" and of the analogy of *kumbha* for an elephant; but a cow, unlike an elephant, has no protuberance on the forehead which could be compared to a pot. It is evidently the rare Sanskrit word, *ghāṭā* or *ghāṭa*; *PW.* quotes the former from *Śuśruta* in the sense of "cervical ligament" and both forms from the Indian lexx. in the sense of "neck". *Gaṇapāṭha* 13, 8, gives *ghāṭā* only, but Böhtlingk's index to it gives both forms, while *Mahābhāṣya* i, p. 208, l. 4, associates *ghāṭa* with *tuṇḍa* as a stock instance. *AR.* has both forms, explaining by the indefinite *mastakāvayavaviśeṣe*, and Bengali has *ghāṭā* and *ghāḍa* meaning "nape of the neck". As the context and the commentary both show, this is the meaning in the Pali passage and it is presumably connected with the word *ghāṭ* of the modern vernaculars, meaning a passage connecting two places such as "a mountain pass", "a ford", "a way down to a river or tank (for bathing)"; the French *col* gives the same transition of meaning from "neck" to "mountain pass". There is, however, another sense of the word, whose origin is perhaps to be found in the same analogy, at *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Bibl. Buddh. xxi), p. 90, l. 16, where *ghāṭābhyantare* is glossed by *ghāṭā nāsāpuṭī*, the context in the *bhāṣya* showing this explanation to be correct.

Caṅgavāra.—Only occurs in similes, but at *J.* v, 186, the commentary explains it as something which a *rajaka* uses to hold *khāra* in. I would connect it with the word *caṅgerī* which is found in most Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. in Buddhist Sanskrit at *Mahāvastu* ii, p. 19, l. 3 (where Senart reads the otherwise unknown *śaṁgeriyo* but the MS. authority is for *caṁgeriyo*), in the *Pañcadaṇḍacchattraprabandha*, a late Jain Sanskrit work full of Guzerati words, in Hindi, Bihari (also *caṅgelī*, Grierson § 44) and Bengali (*cāṅgārī* and *ceṅgārī*)[1]; the meaning is a straw or wickerwork tray or flat basket for carrying grain or flowers. Jain Prakrit has both *caṅgavāra* and *caṅgerī*, *AR.* defining *caṅgavāra* as *kāṣṭhapātri* and the other as *mahatī kāṣṭhapātrī*. Seeing how prevalent it is, we need have no hesitation in restoring it at two hitherto unexplained passages in classical Sanskrit. At *Cārudatta* p. vii, 26 (ed. Morgenstierne), the stage direction reads *Nāyako Viduṣakaś c-āṅgerikāhastā ceṭī ca*, which should evidently be . . . *Viduṣakaś ca cāṅgerikāhastā* . . . ; the word is used to emphasize the poverty of Cārudatta, who is reduced to a poor man's tray for his *bali*.[1] Again in *ucchvāsa* 2 of the *Daśakumāracarita*, where Wilson (p. 88, l. 3) and Bühler in his first edition read *peṭikām*, the latter in his later editions read *vāṅgerikāṁ*, which the commentators explain as *vetrapuṭikā* and *jhāmpī* in *bhāṣā*. Grierson gives § 45 *jhāmpā* as a large basket and *jhāmpī* § 657 as a travelling box or basket for carrying on a sling bamboo. The context shows that a small closed box or basket is meant and that it was made of gold; for it was sealed and is called *hemakaraṇḍaka* a few pages later (p. 92, l. 5). The MS. readings given by Bühler suggest *cāṅgerikāṁ* as the correct form; this is also to be expected, as *c* and *v* are frequently confused, and I know of no analogy to a form *vāṅgerikā*. The slight difference of meaning in this passage recalls the allied Pali form, *caṅgoṭa* and *caṅgoṭaka*, which is used, when made of gold, for carrying relics, valuables, etc. (in e.g. *Mhvs*. i, 35; xvii, 25; xxxi, 39; *J*. iv, 257. *Mhvs*. iv, 106, is a wrong reference in *PD*.), but when the material is not specified it is usually associated with the carrying of flowers. At *Vism*. 173 it is a synonym for *karaṇḍaka* and is evidently an open flower basket. This form is perhaps connected with Bihari *caṅgor*, a large basket, Grierson, § 45, *r* and *ḍ* being often interchanged in that dialect. It looks as if *caṅga* were the name of some kind of wood from which wickerwork articles of two sorts, a kind of tray and a box, were made; the shape of the latter would be imitated by goldsmiths who would describe the gold box by the same name as the wickerwork one. The same element appears again in *cāṅgerī* given in the *Amarakośa* as one of five kinds of an astringent medicinal drink. I cannot connect this word with anything; for *chingar* which Watts gives under tamarind as the name of a cooling anti-bilious drink prepared from the tender leaves and flowers of the tamarind tree is reported only from Madras. We require a plant used for wickerwork and medicinal purposes; the only one I know of is the tamarix, but I can find no form suggesting any association of *caṅga* with it and must leave the origin of the word still in the dark.

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[1] See now also Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*, s. *caṅerā*.

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[1] Woolner and Sarup in *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays*, 1930, vol. i, p. 76, read *cāṅgerikā* and translate "wood-sorrel" (since altered in vol. ii to above).

Ciṅgulaka, ḍiṅgulaka.—At *Sn.* 239 we have *sāmākaciṅgulakacīnakāni* (ed. Fausböll), but Andersen and Smith's edition reads °*ḍiṅgulaka*° and records a variant, °*ḍaṅgulaka*°. *Sāmāka* and *cīnaka* are the well-known millets, panicum frumentosum and miliaceum, which are eaten by the poorer classes and therefore suitable for acceptance as alms; the next verse gives rice as the food of the rich and so unsuitable for alms. *Ciṅgulaka* must also be a food of the poor. There is another similar crop, settaria italica or panicum italicum, known in Sanskrit as *kaṅgu* or *kaṅgunī*, and its earliest mention in Pali under this name according to *PD.* is *Vin.* iv, 264, which is much later than the passage under consideration. All the vernaculars record similar names, but in south Bihar it is called *ṭāṅgun* or *ṭaṅgunī* (Grierson, § 988) and Watts (s. settaria italica) notes a variant, *tángun* (for *ṭāṅgun*?), from the North-West Provinces (i.e. roughly the present United Provinces, excluding Oudh). There are a few instances of changes of *n* to *l* in Pali (Geiger, *Pali Literatur u. Sprache*, § 43) and none of initial *ṭ*; so it is possible that the correct reading here is *ḍaṅgulaka* from an original **ṭaṅgunaka*, now represented by *ṭaṅgunī*. If this identification is correct, it is of some interest. For it would show that the poem emanated from a tract where this form of the name prevailed; as also the poem clearly belongs to a district where rice is the staple food of the richer classes, the greater part of the North-Western Provinces is excluded, and we are left with the probability that the poem was written in Magadha. Further it would be some evidence of what is otherwise probable, that the *Suttavibhaṅga* dates from a time when the sect from which Pali Buddhism nannated no longer had its headquarters in Bihar.

A less probable explanation is to equate it with Santali *ciṅgul*, given in Campbell's dictionary as a kind of rice-plant; I have been unable to find out what kind it is, but it is not impossible that Santali cropnames might have been adopted in Magadha. There is perhaps slight evidence for this identification in a parallel, but much later verse at *J.* v, 405, *sāmākanīvāramatho pi cīnakā*, where *nīvāra*, wild rice, is substituted for the word under discussion, but this is negatived by the commentary on *Sn.* 239, which describes *ciṅgulaka* as having a head like a *kaṇavīra* flower.

Tulā.—At *Vin.* ii, 122, this means the swing lever, the commonest means of lifting water in India, consisting of a long bamboo balanced on a forked upright at a point near one end; the short end is weighted and the bucket is attached to the longer end by a rope, which the man working pulls down to bring the empty bucket into the water and lets go again for the weight to pull the full bucket up (Grierson, § 928 ff. and illustration, and *Hobson Jobson*, s. picotta). It is remarkable how seldom this contrivance is referred to in Sanskrit literature; the only certain one that I have a note of (it has been misunderstood hitherto) is in *Harṣacarita*, ch. vii (ed. Kane, Bombay, 1918, p. 65; Cowell and Thomas' translation, p. 221), *tulāyantrasyeva paścātkṛtagauravasya toyārtham api namataḥ*, where the simile means "like a swing lever with a weight attached behind (i.e., to the short arm) that swings down to lift up water".

Paddhagu.—This doubtful word has for variants *paccagu* and *paṭṭhagu*, and the meaning clearly is "one who goes after someone else", "follower". In determining the form, no notice seems to have been taken of the fact that, while only *piṭṭha* and *piṭṭhī* are recorded in Pali from Skr. *pṛṣṭha*, in Prakrit (v. Pischel, § 53) this is one of several words in which *ṛ* becomes *a*, *i*, and *u*, and Hemacandra recognizes the form in *a* as alone correct at the end of a compou

The phrase *pṛṣṭhato gam* is common enough in Sanskrit, which has also *pṛṣṭhānuga* and *pṛṣṭhānugāmin* as well as their opposite *agregă*, and Pali uses *piṭṭhito* similarly. As the absence of a form in *a* is remarkable in Pali, we are justified in holding that it is present here and that the correct form is *paṭṭhagu* = **pṛṣṭhaga*.

Puṇṇapatta.—Skr. *pūrṇapātra* is used of the specially munificent gift presented to the bearer of good tidings, such as of the birth of a son (cf. Cowell and Thomas' translation of the *Harṣacarita*, p. 109, n. 2, and the commentary on *Kāmasūtra*, vi, 2, 50, *diṣṭivṛddhyā snigdhajanena yad uttarīyam ucchidya gṛhyate tat pūrṇapātram*). It is used in the same way in Pali, e.g. the point of its use should be brought out in translating *Th.* ii, 325, where the wife expresses her extreme joy at hearing that her husband has entered the order and obtained the threefold knowledge by giving the messenger who brings the good news a *puṇṇapatta*. Other references are *J.* iii, 535 (note commentary thereon), vi, 15 and 528. It may have the same sense in the epithet *lāvaṇṇapuṇṇapatta* applied to the Buddha in the Prakrit verse quoted in the *Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* or *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (ed. Lüders, p. 45).[1]

Bhasmantāhuti.—Occurs only in a well-known cliché as an epithet of the bones of a corpse that have been burnt. Modern translators, following Buddhaghosa in taking *anta* in the sense of *avasāna*, have failed to make much sense out of it. In my opinion *anta* has a collective sense here; it is thus used with various shades of meaning both in Pali and in Sanskrit, the *PW.* describing some of the latter.

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[1] Surely the word *sirīra*, which puzzled Lüders in the same verse, in the expression *vinayasamuttejitasirīram* is a mistake for °*sirīkam*, as indicated by the Chinese (" la majesté du souverain excellent ", Huber); the difference between *ka* and *ra* is little more than a cross-stroke which would be easily omitted, and the fragments of the Buddhist dramas have *nissirīka* and [illegible].

The commonest use in Pali is to give a collective generalized sense to a word; thus *vananta* "the jungle", "jungly country", generally, as against *vana*, any particular forest. So in order to express that a *bhikkhu* ought not to sleep "in a village" at night, idiomatic Pali would prefer *gāmante* to *gāme*. In this view *bhasmanta* means "ashes" generally, and as oblations are cast into a living fire, to cast them into ashes, i.e. into a dead fire, has no value at all; "oblations cast into ashes" are accordingly a symbol of something valueless. This interpretation fits the context perfectly and is confirmed by Sanskrit. The stock illustration to *Pāṇ.* ii, 1, 47, is *bhasmanihuta*, and *PW.*, s. *bhasman*, quotes *Manu* iii, 168, which lays down that an oblation is not to be given to a Brahman who does not study, because that would be like casting it into ashes, and *MBh.* iii, 15686, which describes the giving of something valuable to a worthless person as like giving a sacrificial ladle full of the best ghee into ashes.[1] An earlier reference to the same idea is *Chāndogya Up.* v, 24, 1, *sa ya idam avidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti yathāṅgārān apohya bhasmani juhuyāt, tādṛk tat syāt.* The idea has possibly some connection with the instruction in the ritual literature, *bhasmānte nirvapet*, though the commentators, perhaps wrongly, take *bhasmānte* to mean "near the ashes" in that case. In *Bṛh. Ār. Up.* v, 15 (= *Īśā Up.* 17) *bhasmāntaṁ śarīram* may mean "a heap of ashes", not "ending in ashes" as usually translated.

Vaḍḍhamāna.—At three places this is the same as Skr. *vardhamāna*, which denotes a certain lucky figure and is applied to anything made in that shape or supposed to resemble it, such as amulets, ritual vessels (*MBh.* xiii, 3263, 4243; and xiv, 1927, 2539), veinings on an elephant's tusks when cut (*Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 94, 2), houses of a particular type

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[1] There is a difference of nuance between the Pali word and the Sanskrit phrase, which latter comes to mean proverbially casting pearls before swine (cf. *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha*, x, 26).

'with no door on the south, the unlucky, side (P. K. Acharya's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* s.v.), the north, the lucky, gate of Hāstinapura (*MBh.* i, 4905; iii, 10; xv, 443), a particular evolution of a horse or troop of cavalry (*KA.* ii, 30, 38) or a technical term in dancing (*Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. Grosset, iv, 273). Its shape appears to be no longer known in India; for I do not find it in dictionaries of the modern vernaculars and in the Hindi commentary of Baladevaprasād Miśra's edition of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Bombay, 1897) it is explained as an earthenware bowl at the passage referred to above, showing that it was not understood. The form it took as a vessel, however, is still known, for it occurs among the eight lucky figures of the Jains (v. W. Hüttemann, *Baessler Archiv* iv, *Miniaturen zum Jinacarita*, p. 54, fig. 1 and description, p. 52; illustration reproduced by Coomarasvamy, *Journal of Indian Art*, 1914, p. 88, and H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, pl. 20); but it is difficult to deduce the original pattern from this picture.

The two later occurrences of the word in Pali are in the list of lucky objects presented by Asoka to Devānaṁpiya (1) at *Dpvs.* xi, 32–3:—

Gaṅgodakaṁ ca bhiṅkāraṁ saṅkhaṁ ca sivikena ca ||
Nandiyāvaṭṭaṁ vaḍḍhamānaṁ rājābhiseke pesitā |

(2) and at *Mhvs.* xi, 30–1:—

Anotattodakājaṁ ca Gaṅgāsalilaṁ eva ca |
saṅkhaṁ ca nandiyāvaṭṭaṁ vaḍḍhamānaṁ kumārikaṁ ||
Hemabhājanabhaṇḍaṁ ca sivikaṁ ca mahārahaṁ |

Compare with these the list of lucky objects seen or touched by Yudhiṣṭhira, which include at *MBh.* vii, 2930, *svastikān vardhamānāṁś ca nandyāvartāṁś ca kāñcanān* and of the lucky figures seen by Sujātā in the milk, *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefmann), ch. 18, p. 268, *śrīvatsasvastikanandyāvartavardhamānādīni maṅgalyāni*; the juxtaposition in all these cases seems to suggest some resemblance between *svastika*, *nandyāvarta*, whose full form consists of four *svastikas*, and *vardhamāna*. The meaning of *kumārikā* in the *Mhvs.* passage is doubtful, though certainly not "maiden". The natural course is to suppose a corruption and to amend to *suvatthikaṁ*, whose omission in both passages is curious. Alternatively *PWK.* gives *kumārikā* and *kumārī* in the sense of "small flagstaff" set up by Indra's banner at his feast. Again *KA.* ii, 3, 39, has *kumārīpura*, some sort of a room in the wall of a fort, and ib., ii, 31, 2, describes the elephant stables as having *kumārīsaṁgraha*, where the commentator glosses *kumārī* with *tulā*, which is far from clear.[1] The sense of "small sacred flagstaff" would suit both these passages as well as the *Mhvs.*

The earliest occurrence, which raises several problems, is in the description of the marks on the Buddha's feet at *Bu.* 1, 37, *cakkalakkhaṇaṁ* . . . *dhajavajirapatākaṁ vaḍḍhamānāṅkusāvitaṁ*; *āvita* is glossed in the commentary by *alaṁkataṁ parivāritaṁ* and, if not a mistake for *ācita* or *aṅkita*, is a very unusual form for Skr. *āvṛta* usually represented in Pali by *āvuṭa*. The *dhaja*, *patākā* and *vaḍḍhamāna* figure among the marks on the Buddha's feet described from late sources by Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 622 ff., and the *aṅkusa* is to be found among a series of lucky emblems at Sanchi (Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. xxxix, figs. 15 and 16, symbol marked *m*), in a similar series at Junagaḍh (Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kacch*, pl. xviii, 3) and among the markings on the hands of statues at *Pratimāmānalakṣaṇa* 54 (Punjab Oriental Series, No. 18, text wrongly *aṅkura*, but see notes and translation).[2] The Sanchi sulptures depict the Buddha's feet with the mark of a wheel, and nothing else, on them.[1] But the remains at Amaravati have Buddha's feet (cf. British Museum, pieces No. 43 and 57, and Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p. 98, fig. 30, and pl. lii, fig. 6 and 8, and pl. liii, fig. 1) with wheels, svastikas, lotuses, what seem to be *vajras* and two unidentified symbols, namely a *triśūla*(?) over a wheel, which Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 627) conjectured to represent the *vardhamāna*, and a curious figure more or less oblong in shape with a pointed top flanked by two rolls or cusps, a similar roll on each side and a rounded bottom. The Sanchi gateways had the latter figure enclosed in the arms of the *triśūla* of the former one placed on the top of each pillar, and it is also to be found there in the collection of lucky ornaments already referred to (marked *c* in Maisey's figure). It also appears at the side of Khāravela's inscription referred to above, p. 580. I do not know of its occurrence elsewhere, but this evidence is sufficient to show the veneration it enjoyed among Buddhists.

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[1] The explanation is perhaps that given in *AR.*, *tulā gṛhāṇāṁ dārubandhakāṣṭhe*. This is the sense accepted by J. J. Meyer in his translation, p. 217, n. 2; *tulā* properly is an upright used to support a crosspiece, as in a pair of scales or the swing lever (above, p. 586), or in *tulāvā* (Grierson, § 167, etc.).

[2] For the *dhvaja*, *patākā*, and *aṅkuśa* the original idea was perhaps that only kings used them and would have their hands marked by them, as is recorded of Duryodhana at *MBh.*, v, 4226.

It would seem probable that one of these two symbols is the *vardhamāna*; the question is which. It seems unlikely that it could be the *triśūla* and wheel; for that pattern could not easily be used for the various purposes already mentioned; it has no connection with the *svastika* and *nandyāvarta* and I do not see how the Jain lucky figure could have developed out of it. Now the *AR*. quotes various meanings for *vaddhamānaya*, including a statement attributed to some that it is a *svastikapañcaka*; no definite authority is given but, if we could rely on it, it would perhaps enable us to identify the other figure with the *vardhamāna*. The pointed top and the four rolls would each represent a *svastika*, rather as in the shortened form of the *nandyāvarta*, and the general shape is not unlike that of the Jain lucky figure. Moreover the rounded bottom would, if the figure were made the ground plan of a house, seem to indicate a building with no door on the south side. The evidence is inconclusive but justifies the identification provisionally.

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[1] The statements about the Sanchi and Amaravati sculptures here and under *kubbara* above have been verified as far as possible by reference to such photographs as are available at the India Office.

The *Buddhavaṁsa* is generally agreed to be a late work (Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, ii, p. 131) and the comparison of this passage from it with the Sanchi and Amaravati sculptures leads us to infer that it is not earlier than the Amaravati stūpas and may well be later, say the second or third centuries A.D. This is corroborated by the language and style which are closely allied to those of the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and it is a result of some importance if we can suggest an approximate date for a work which the Ceylon Buddhists consider canonical.

Vardhamāna was explained by Kern (*Histoire du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1903, ii, p. 209), who accepted Burnouf's conjecture without discussion, as indicating the crescent moon which might be represented by the *triśūla*. Having regard to the analogy of *svastika* and *nandyāvarta*, however, I imagine it to mean merely " lucky ", " prosperity-bringing ", the root *vṛdh* being regularly used in salutations of congratulation on good fortune (*diṣṭyā vardhase* and the like).

A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins

pieces

By S. LANGDON

THIS year M. L. Ch. Watelin, director of excavations for the Oxford Field Museum Expedition at Kish, has found another seal of the early Indus Valley civilization at plain level, 9 metres below the surface of the soil. According to our stratifications at this site, the object should be pre-Sargonic, but it was found with a stone pommel bearing an inscription clearly not earlier than Sargon of Agade. Both objects, therefore, may have fallen from above.

It is wholly impossible to explain the presence of this ancient Indian script on a press seal of 2800 B.C., unless it be admitted that the script was known in this period. The Indus seal found by Mackay lay below the pavement of Samsu-iluna,[1] and one found at Susa is clearly pre-Sargonic, judging from the Elamitic-Sumerian animal file *motif* on it. In other words, native Indian seals with the characteristic bull with head over an undefined object occur in the age immediately before Sargon; the script was known in Sumer in the early period only, and remains absolutely unchanged. Now several hundred of these seals have been excavated at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, in the Indus Valley, and they also show no evolution in epigraphy, although found at different levels. This is not the place to discuss the still unpublished results of studies on the Indus Valley script. The signs on the press seal occur with great frequency on the Indian seals.

But all this raises the question as to whether the Sumerians are not really the Indus Valley people themselves. If the pictographic script as found at Jemdet Nasr, Kish, and other early sites is not of Sumerian origin (although it is apparently always used to write the Sumerian language), then the Sumerians themselves may have introduced this Indian script into Mesopotamia and at a time when some other civilization had been long established there. Let us admit for the moment that this is true, then how can the difficult problem about the sudden abandonment of the small rectangular brick in favour of the clumsy plano-convex brick be explained? The people of the advanced culture of painted ware and pictographic writing used the rectangular brick. So did also the prehistoric people of the Indus Valley. The same painted ware was made in India as in Mesopotamia in the early period of the rectangular brick. All this early and brilliant civilization suddenly disappears throughout the whole of Mesopotamia. It is succeeded by a civilization soon after 3500 B.C. which introduced the plano-convex brick, and this type of brick is used for over a millennium, through over 25 feet of debris at Kish, and by a people who were undoubtedly Sumerians. The problem is again complicated by the inlay friezes of the plano-convex palace at mound A at Kish. See my *Excavations at Kish*, vol. i, plates xxxvi–xxxix. These figures of triumphant kings, of bound prisoners, all have the "pig-tail" tonsure, and a form of dress totally unlike anything known as Sumerian or Semitic. This palace belongs to the age of the buildings found by Watelin at Hursagkalamma in deep levels, almost on water level. Who are these strange masters of the land at the time of the introduction of the plano-convex brick? A people capable of making the fine inlay found with these figures. Assuming the Sumerians to have come from India, it follows that they introduced the rectangular brick of the painted ware period, and were the first people to build brick walls in Mesopotamia, at least in the Kish area. Then it follows that the Jemdet Nasr civilization is the original Sumerian civilization, and came from India, bringing a script which they almost entirely abandoned in favour of one found already in the land, the so-called Sumerian pictographic script, of which I gave a sign list in *OECT*. vii. This early

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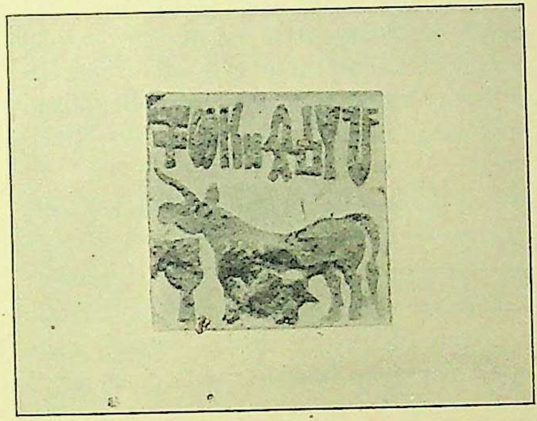
[1] *JRAS*. 1925, p. 697.

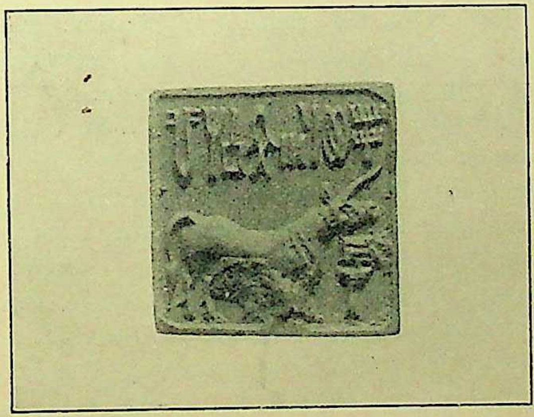
Sumerian culture, on this theory, was destroyed by another invasion and another civilization, or by the recrudence of the indigenous civilization which introduced the plano-convex brick, human sacrifice in the burial of distinguished dead, and continued the use of the pictographic script now gradually becoming cuneiform, and the Sumerian language.

A.



A press seal found at the temple site, Hursagkalamma, Kish, at plain level. Trench C 9.

B.



All these hypotheses may be the very opposite of the truth.

It is possible to assume that the Sumerians are the people who introduced the plano-convex brick, that the painted ware civilization came from India and found the Sumerian people in the land, the real inventors of the pictographic script, as seems most probable. And still the strange "pig-tail" people of the palace confronts us and demands an explanation. Also the problem arises as to why Sumerians, for a time submerged in the higher civilization of India, abandoned the useful rectangular brick in favour of the clumsy plano-convex.

All this new material calls for explanation, and there is none, none at present. Early Mesopotamian racial and cultural origins are at present in a hopelessly obscure tangle. There is also the mathematical factor in the problem. The pictographic script has a trace of the pure decimal system in its mixture of the decimal and sexigesimal system. Apparently the Indian script has a decimal system, but this is uncertain. The Sumerian system is by origin undoubtedly sexigesimal. Until more definite and explainable facts are available I, for my part, can see no advantage in constructing any far-reaching theories on the origins of civilization. Facts and facts only must be published until some reasonable and defensible history can be based upon them.

Photo A is taken directly from the seal. Photo B is from the impression which has the text in its proper order. Taking the order of signs on B and reading from right to left, as I have read all the Indus Valley inscriptions in chapter xxiii of *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, edited by Sir John Marshall, the last sign on the left is the one constantly occurring at the end of a great number of the texts, certainly an inflection or a post fixed determinative. Numbering the signs right to left, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, they are in my list: 1 = 16, 2 = 220; 3 = accent H added to No. 220; 4 = 266 (three perpendicular strokes); 5 = 175 (fish sign); 6 = 6; 7 = 96 (similar to Sabæan Ḥhā); 8 = 87.

Two Notes on Indian Head-dress

By C. L. FÁBRI, Ph.D., Leyden

THE importance of the history of costumes and fashions cannot be emphasized enough. Concerning India practically nothing has been published in this line, barring some discussions on the costumes of the Mughal period. A thorough examination of small details would possibly yield very valuable results, and the following two brief notes may be considered as a modest contribution to such a study of Indian head-dress.

I. The Hair Curl of a Princess at Bāmiyān

In their precious volume on the Buddhist antiquities of Bāmiyān,[1] the members of the French mission in Afghānistān, Mme. and Mons. Godard and Mons. Hackin, point out with great knowledge of the artistic products of Īrān, Tūrān, and India, the affinities of the Bāmiyān frescoes with those of the surrounding territories. It becomes quite evident, after reading their discussions, that the wall paintings of Bāmiyān represent a mixture of Indian, Īrānian, and Central Asian elements.

In their plate xxiii, fig. b, 10, we see what the authors call a princess, whose head-dress "se termine par des mèches frisées, particularité que nous retrouvons très fréquemment en Asie Centrale" (p. 24). From this I understand that the authors consider the curl of hair combed in this manner a special peculiarity of Central Asian art.

It is quite true that this kind of hair tress is very common in Central Asia, especially in Kučean paintings. I have even found some instances in Farther Serindia, in Tun Huang. To make a comparison easy I publish here a drawing of these. Fig. 1 is a copy from plate lxxxvii of *Serindia*, vol. iii, by Sir

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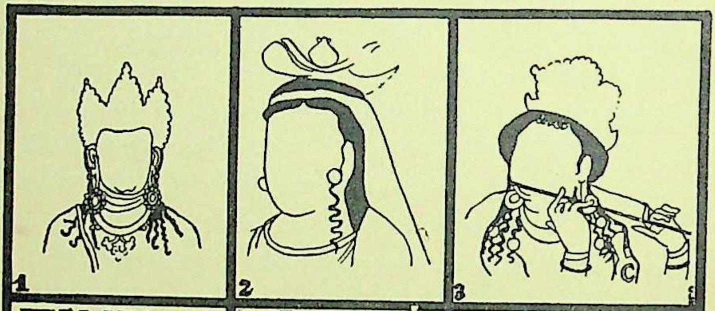
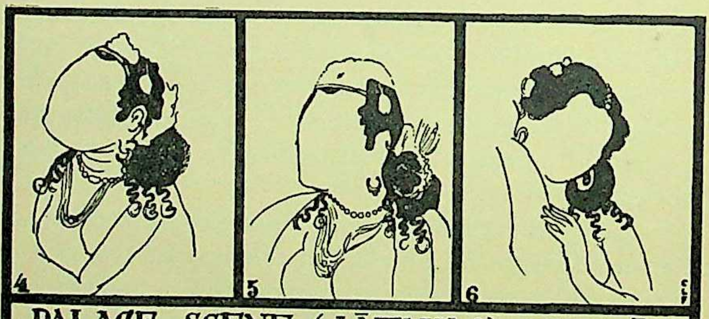
[1] *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris, Van Oest, 1928.

Aurel Stein; Fig. 2 is the "Princess" of Bāmiyān; Fig. 3 is from Professor Grünwedel's *Alt Kutscha*, plates iii–iv, 1. It is evident that there is much in common in the coiffures of these three figures. It would, however, be utterly wrong to consider this kind of hair locks as a fashion peculiar only to Central Asia.



TUN-HUANG **BĀMIYĀN** **ḲÏZÏL**

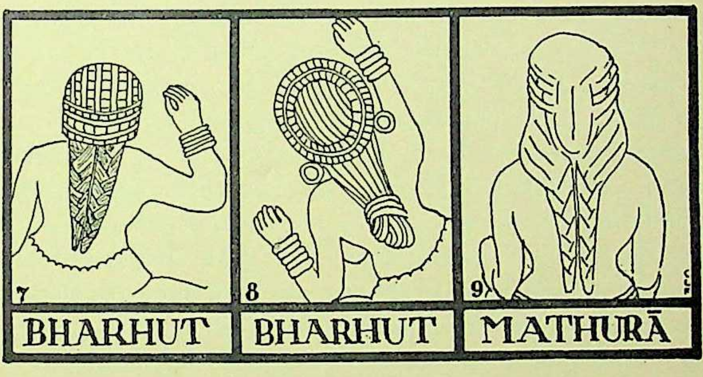


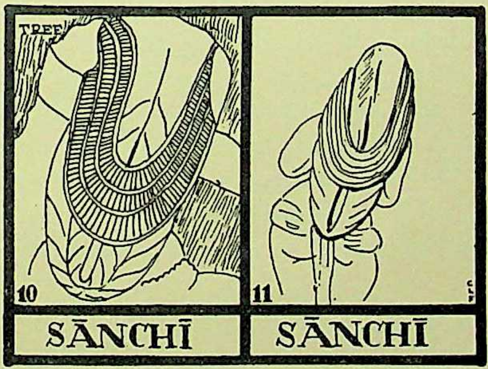
PALACE SCENE (JĀTAKA?), AJANṬĀ

In another drawing we illustrate the fact that the same manner of dressing the hair was in use in India too. Figs. 4, 5, and 6 are from a mural painting of Ajaṇṭā, copied from a new colour photograph. They show exactly the same kind of curls. Moreover, we must add that they are not the only instances of this hair fashion; the Ajaṇṭā Album of the India Society bears ample evidence that this was the usual common fashion in the fifth to the sixth century A.D. In one of the pla there are not less than eight ladies with these curled locks on the shoulders. Even men are seen with the same hair curls.

II. Head-dress of Women in Early India

There seems to be a distinct development of the female head-dress from Bharhut to Sānchī. As the dates of these two monuments are fairly well established, this difference is very important.





In Bharhut two long plaits of hair hang down on the back, while a turban or a kerchief (?) covers the upper part of the head. The plaits either (1) hang separately and singly, as in Fig. 7, or (2) are united in a simple knot, as in our Fig. 8.[1]

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[1] Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xv, xxx. Cf. also xxviii, xxxi, xl.

In Sānchī, however, the female head-dress has a quite different form. The two plaits are united at their *ends*, and a garland always hangs in *oval* shape from the back of the head,[1] as shown in Figs. 10 and 11. The kerchief is often joined on the top of the head or somewhat sideways in a kind of knot.[2]

How useful such a distinction may be when fixing the date of a sculpture may best be proved by looking at Fig. 9. This drawing is a detail of a terra-cotta fragment of a "Mother and Child" type which has been given to me by Imre Schwaiger, Esq.,[3] who informed me that he acquired it in Mathurā. A comparison with what has been said above will suffice to establish fairly definitely the date of this terra-cotta. Undoubtedly it must be older than Sānchī (later pieces are still more elaborate), and may be of about the same date as the Bharhut sculptures. It being a small terra-cotta figurine, the technique of the material is, of course, somewhat cruder than that of the stone. But other indications (form of "bead-girdle", etc.) corroborate the identification and show the value of the history of fashions.

Another instance of the value of this distinction is very important, as it enables us to fix the date of Caves IX and X of Ajaṇṭā more accurately than has formerly been done. The general ascription is "about first or second century B.C.", but Dr. Coomaraswamy dated the two caves as "about 175 B.C." Plate lvii of V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*,[4] as well as the few plates of Griffith, furnishes us with reliable, if not ample, material, to correct this date to "*about 50* B.C." The head-dress of the ladies shows unmistakable similarity to that of the Sānchī *toraṇa* figures, and is quite different to the earlier Bharhut forms. We intend to publish a study of several of the Ajaṇṭā coiffures, in which paper a more detailed discussion will follow.

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[1] Fig. 10 is from the British Museum *yakṣiṇī*, and 11 after Maisey, *Sánchi*, pl. xxiv. No better photograph was at my disposal.

[2] Maisey, pl. xiv.

[3] I have already drawn attention to the valuable collection of Mr. Schwaiger, London, in my paper "A Græco-Buddhist Sculpture representing the Buddha's Descent from the Heaven of the thirty-three Gods", in *Acta Orientalia*, vol. viii, 1930, p. 291, note 2. A discussion of the hair in many small spiral curls will be found in my paper to be published in the *Études d'orientalisme Linossier*, Paris.

[4] In the new edition (1930) unnumbered fig. on p. 103. Cf. also: *Archl. Survey of West. India*, No. 10, plate facing p. 67.

Where the Rainbow ends

(AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DRAGON TERRESTRIAL AND THE DRAGON CELESTIAL)

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE V.)

1. Among the less common Chinese decorative or symbolic themes is one whose norm may reasonably be regarded as a semi-circle terminating at each end in an animal's head. But arcs of the circle both less and more than the half are perhaps more frequent, and the curvature is likewise bent, as the applicational needs demand, into other modes of arch or loop. Instances of penannular bracelets and torques in other lands are perhaps also derivatives when their terminals are thus enriched.

This decorative theme is sometimes found also in Siberia, on the shores of the Bosporus, and in S. Russia.[1] What was its primitive meaning ? What did it symbolize ?

2. There is in the Chinese written language a character 虹, standing for a word pronounced usually *hung*, and meaning Rainbow. It is, *mutatis mutandis*, written in the same way in the Lesser Seal, and falls under the Phonetic Compound group, having 工 *kung* for the sound, and 虫 *ch'ung* " creeping thing " for its Determinative or " Radical ". That seems a simple enough matter certainly, and 出 了虹 *ch'u liao hung* is the ordinary expression in Chinese for " There is a Rainbow ". Let us leave it there for the moment, remarking merely on the odd inappropriateness of applying the Deter-

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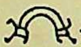
[1] See Laufer, *Jade*, p. 200, in " Girdle Pendants " ; pp. 186–7, in " Jade Images ", 瓏 *lung*. Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style in S. Russia and China*, plate xviii, fig. 1, in " Gold Torque from Siberia " : Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 411, fig. 298, in " Gold and Chalcedony gem and Carnelian " ; p. 64, in " Golden Bracelet, from the Golubinskaja Stanitza ". Pelliot, *Jades archaiques de Chine*, plate xviii, figs. 1–3, " Segment de cercle se terminant à chaque extrémité par une tête de dragon." Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus* ; numerous examples of armlets with animals' heads, but all are penannular.

minative for snakes or other creeping things to a phenomenon of such rare loveliness of form and colour as the Rainbow. What could have been the reason for this rather parasitic augment ?

3. This same word, *hung* 虹, forms part of the phrase 宛 虹 *yüan hung* "curving rainbow" used metaphorically in a verse of the poet Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju (died 117 B.C.) to describe a Dragon. This figure of speech is cited by Kanghsi from the 字 彙 補 *tzŭ hui pu*, or *Supplement to the Tzŭ Hui*, which briefly defines it as 龍 也 *lung yeh*, a Dragon. Again, how came the Chinese Poet to choose the Rainbow to connote a Dragon ?

4. In what follows I advance a conjectural answer to the three questions put above. It is a conjecture that could not have been framed before the discovery of the Honan Find in 1899, and the partial publication of the results by Lo Chên-yü and others since then.

Among the most striking of the new archaic characters revealed on the exhumed miniatures and bone fragments, is that illustrated below. Three examples (possibly four) are published by Lo Chên-yü,[1] and, as usual, have been beautifully reproduced by Takada in his *Ku Chou P'ien*.[2] The original of this Figure is selected partly because it is unusually large and clearly cut, and partly because of the nature of the text of which it forms part, and which I venture to claim supports my conjecture as to its identity as well as the symbolism of its design. Here then is the Figure in question, .

What should we see in this simple but striking image ? We should, I now feel sure, discern a Rainbow terminating in two animal heads. But of what animal ? Certainly of the Dragon, must be the answer. For the design of the character is, in the main, naturalistic, in so far as it is clearly modelled on the semi-circular Bow in the sky, but symbolistic through the addition of two heads, for where the Rainbow ends, there the Dragon begins!

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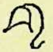
[1] One, from which my figure is copied, is on p. 4 of Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua* ; one from his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. vii, p. 7 ; and one from ibid., p. 43.

See ch. xi, p. 21.

And that these animal heads are those of the Dragon will hardly be disputed if they are compared with the head of one of the contracted archaic forms of 龍 *lung* cited by Lo Chên-yü in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* (pp. 38–9), where in  he expressly states that is the head, misunderstood and misdescribed by the author of the *Shuo Wen* as 肉 *jou* "flesh".

Still, my imaginary obstinate and sceptical critic may object, what reason is there for associating the Chinese Dragon with the Chinese, or any other, Rainbow? I might reply to this in the alleged Scots manner, by another question, Why has the ordinary character for Rainbow, 虹 *hung*, been written with the Determinative 虫 *ch'ung* for reptiles and insects? However, the argument could not of course stop there, and the following considerations are those that, when reinforced by the curious text inscribed on a large shoulder-blade, perhaps that of an ox, reproduced on Plate V, and published in Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua*, p. 4, led me to the conclusion expressed in paragraph 4 above.

Now every schoolmaster knows that in China when drought afflicts the land, the Dragon is besought to send down the needful rain, and in due course does so. And Schlegel[1] figures an asterism of seventeen stars, known as the Chariot, 軒轅 *hsien yüan*, which the author of the 星經 *Hsing ching*, or Book of the Stars, says is "in form like a mounting Dragon", 形如騰龍, and shows indeed a markedly zigzag course. And as de Visser writes, p. 111, "ascending dragons cause rain." But this brings us to another atmospheric portent, the Chinese explanation of which is probably less familiar, I mean the Rainbow.

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[1] *Uranographie Chinoise*, vol. i, p. 453.

It is the belief of the Chinese that the appearance of the Rainbow is at once the herald and the cause of the cessation of rain and the return of clear skies. This is no doubt much more accordant with the regular seasons of the Far Eastern mainland than with the jazzy meteorology of our own climate. Hence the saying quoted in Giles' Dictionary (under the word 虹 *hung*), 不 霽 何 虹 *pu chi ho hung*, "How can you have a rainbow without a clearing sky?"

Now, if by his own volition, when mounting to the upper air, the Dragon could beget the rolling thunder and the drenching rain-storm, how should he not be able also, in descending, to cause the rain to cease, and the face of the blue sky to clear?

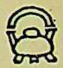
And that is why I conjecture and suggest that the early Chinese must have seen in the Rainbow one avatar of the wonder-working Dragon as conceived by their animistic mentality. That would likewise explain why to the arching bow seen with their bodily eyes they added the Dragon heads beheld only by the eye of faith.

This would equally give the necessary point to the Chinese Poet's figure of speech when he described a Dragon allusively as a "curving rainbow", 宛 虹 *yüan hung*.

Further, it is part and parcel of my thesis that before the Lesser Seal character existed, the latter being, as stated in the *Shuo Wen*, a Phonetic compound, there had been current an earlier and pictographic form, which I believe I have identified in the hitherto unknown character, the problem of this paper. As in hundreds of other instances, awkward or too elaborate pictures were discarded, and a new synthesis introduced, consisting of a Determinative (Karlgren's "Signific", or "Radical" in the old and misleading terminology), and some character that was homophonic. And thus when, in the case of *hung* the Rainbow, this drastic reform was effected, the reformers with a certain reminiscent piety conceded to the neologism the character 虫 *ch'ung*, "reptile" or "insect", *vice* the Dragon figure deposed.

Before appending a modern Chinese transcription, and the English rendering of the inscription reproduced on the Plate, I must not fail to bring to the reader's notice the very different view held by the learned Japanese scholar, Tadasuke Takada, of my conjectured Rainbow character (*Ku Chou P'ien*, ch. XI, p. 21).

Under the character 錠 *ting* he cites one of the three examples of the form under discussion,[1] and uses the words, 別 亦 一 字, "another different scription" of 錠 *ting*. Takada first gives a transcription in modern Chinese of fifteen characters of the inscription (to some of these I cannot subscribe), among which is a design that the student should note does not correspond, nor can the author intend that it should, with the original form on the scapula, nor to any modern character at all, but represents Takada's reconstruction of an archaic heater or kettle. To this transcription he adds the following note:—

"The text before this is defective and cannot be deciphered. But on scrutiny of the archaic character, the element rather resembles a modified form of 龍 *lung* 'Dragon', with the right and left ends connected, and making one single figure (以 爲 一 文), which is certainly a separate character. Hence I conclude as follows: The *Pê Ku T'u* contains a vessel described as a 錠 *ting*, and the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien* has one likewise.[2] The shape of it is thus—  resembling a 鼎 *ting* with three feet; above is an independent kind of shape[3]; the inscription on the vessel in the *Pê Ku* runs 'The bronze rainbow lamp heater of Mr. Wang' (王 氏 銅 虹 燭 錠), where the 虹 *hung* 'rainbow' refers to the loop, , while the word 'lamp' does not convey the archaic significance." After discussing the terms *ting* and

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[1] The original is in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, ch. vii, p. 43.

[2] See the latter work, ch. xxx, p. 27, and the former, ch. xviii, p. 41.

[3] Which, however, does not appear in P. K. T.'s illustration, though it seems to be necessary. The vessel is there ascribed to the Han era.

têng for four columns in which we need not follow him, he concludes by saying, "In view of these facts, (we see that) this character (viz. the one found on the Honan Bones, which I am arguing is the ancient character for Rainbow), is the original character for *hung ting* 虹 錠, a rainbow-heater," for which, he adds, a homophone, 錠 *ting*, with a different meaning, was afterwards substituted.

On the next page Takada reproduces the example shown in my Plate, and finding the text difficult to reconcile with his view of the character, dismisses it on the strength no doubt of the previous word 出 *ch'u* "to come out", as 地 名 也 *ti ming yeh* "name of a locality". Mr. Takada is not the only student of old and troublesome texts who flies to such "localities" as a refuge of the destitute. Most of us have been there!

It is obvious that Takada's view and mine are irreconcilable. It will also be apparent on reflexion that the value of my foregoing thesis hinges on the rightness or the error in my identification of the archaic character under discussion with the long current but more recent compound 虹 *hung*. That identification itself must be justified, or else ultimately disproved, by the nature of the texts in which the character appears. I have accordingly selected the longest of the three available, which is virtually complete, for photographic reproduction on Plate V, have added what I believe to be an approximately correct transcription in modern Chinese, and an English rendering to the best of my powers, for even an imperfect translation cannot fail to disclose the general nature of the inscription.

But at this point it is right to admit that a quite different and highly sophisticated explanation of the Rainbow and other atmospheric effects had been propounded by the scholars of later ages. Under their systems the Rainbow had to adapt itself to the schematic symmetries of Chinese ontological speculation. It was, they declared, one of the results flowing from the struggle of the Dual Forces, the Yin and the Yang, that was fought out at the Summer Solstice, and in particular was the visible expression of their sexual excesses (淫 爲 虹 霓, *yin wei hung i*, the *hung* being the primary and male, the *i*, the secondary and female Rainbow).[1] But these were the elaborations, if not the refinements, of a later period, of a more studious temperament, of a more accomplished philosophy. Under the Shang Dynasty in the Second Millennium B.C., men were of simpler minds and held more childlike views, not much unlike perhaps Pope's "poor Indian whose untutored mind, Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind". We have to do with a mentality that inferred from the display of every natural force the causation of some conscious and superhuman energy.

Transcription in modern Chinese of inscription on Plate V.

(Columns and the number of characters in each are as in the original)

Col. 3.	Col. 2.	Col. 1.
士 shih	格 kê	王 wang
出 ch'u	雲 yün	占 chan
虹 hung	自 tzŭ	曰 yüeh
自 tzŭ	東 tung	士 shih
北 pei	宦 huan	求 ch'iu
[?]	母 mu	八 pa
于 yü	昃 tsê	日 jih
妣 pi	夜 yeh	庚 kêng
乙 i		戌 hsü
		士 shih

Tentative translation of archaic Chinese inscription on Plate

"The Royal interpretation of the omen says, (㞢) Having scrutinized and offered prayers. On the 8th day, *Kêng hsü*, (㞢) discovered that there arrived clouds from the East, the Lady of the Bedchamber towards evening (㞢) discovered a Rainbow that appeared from the North, (and ? the King) offered a libation to (his) late Mother I."

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[1] See the whole passage, cited in Schlegel's *Uranographie Chinoise*, vol. i, pp. 455–6.

Notes

王 占 曰 *Wang chan yueh.* This formula constantly occurs on the Honan relics.

㞢 = 之 *chih*, according to both the Chinese and Japanese authorities on these inscriptions. I regret I am not able to accept that view, despite the weight of their authority. I may explain why. In the first place, Lo Chên-yü, in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, under the character 之 *chih*, p. 57, gives *only* as the Honan Find form, not 㞢. Yet in the latter part of the volume, where he transcribes a large number of bone inscriptions into modern Chinese, he inconsistently renders 㞢 by 之 *chih*, especially in the common 㞢 于 * *. See for instance p. 80, column 6, and very many others, where he understands 之 in its old sense of "going". Strictly, in form, the modern version is ⺧, not found alone, but appearing in a few compounds, e.g. in 告 *kao*, "to announce" or "to ask for". But again 㞢 might easily have become 士 *shih*, indeed it has done so in such compounds as 志 *chih*, under which Kanghsi inserts "古 文 𢗊", *ku wên chih*, "ancient form" as the third character. Now few competent scholars probably will desire to deny or be able to doubt Karlgren's statement,[1] in reference to 仕 *shih*, "Etymology same word as last [士 *shih*]; character enlarged by 人" (man). And as one sense of 仕 *shih*, Kanghsi gives 察 *ch'a*, to scrutinize, to find out. The argument is not, of course, conclusive as to the true identity of 㞢, but it seems to be justified as a working hypothesis, while if we read 之 *chih*, to go, I do not see how an intelligible rendering of the text can be made.

"On the 8th day, *Kêng hsü*." The eighth day was presumably the eighth day of the current denary cycle, and as these Bone records show, the usual date for inquiry as to matters to occur during any of the ten-day cycles, was the last day of the preceding one, which in this case would have been the day 癸 卯 *kuei mao*.

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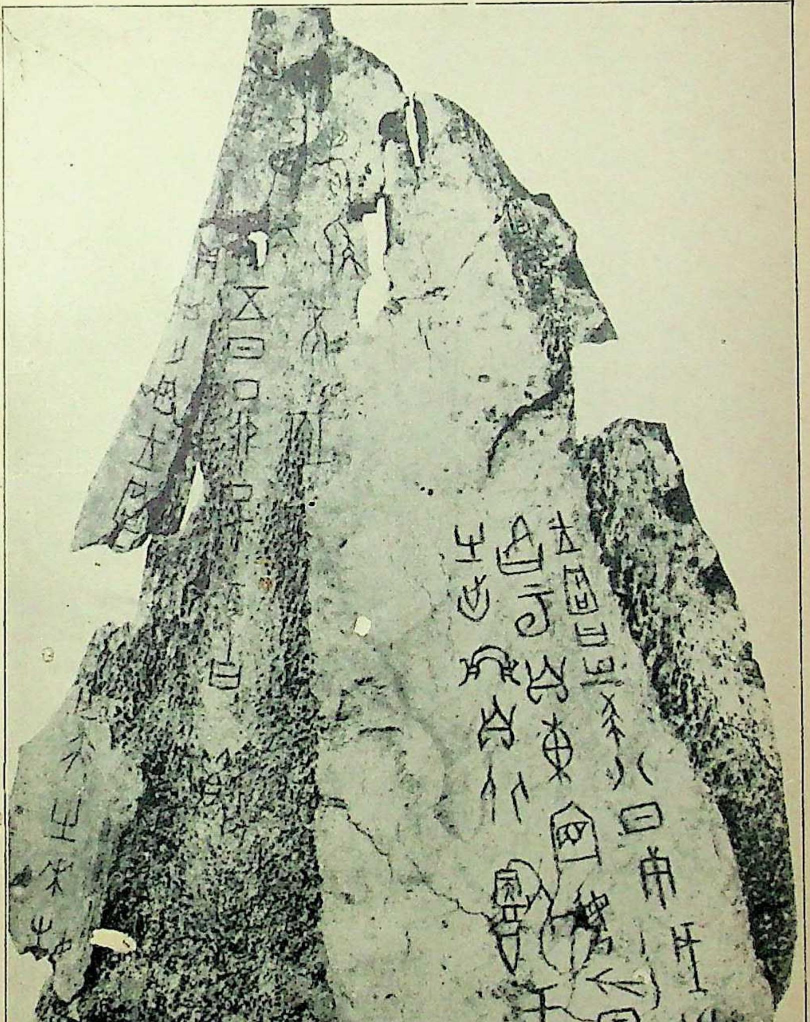
[1] *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p. 259, No. 877.



Where the Rainbow Ends. has
Shoulderblade inscribed in archaic Chinese and on the

"There arrived clouds from the East." Following stringently the face value of these first two archaic characters, we should get 各 云 *kê yün* "each says". But they here stand for the words now written 格 雲 *kê yün* "arrive clouds". A comparable sentence occurs in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. vii, p. 26, where the modern text would be 格 雲 自 北 *kê yün tzŭ pei* "there arrived clouds from the North", but the first character is there written as 各 *kê* augmented by 女 *nü*, woman, a word not included in Kanghsi. Neither Lo, Wang Hsiang, or Takada have noted that 云 (viz. 亏 on the Bones) is the archaic form of 雲 *yün* "clouds".

"Lady of the Bedchamber" 宦 母. For the first character, see also Wang Hsiang in *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan*, vol. i, p. 6, and p. 36. Takada treats it as the old form of a rare character, composed of 穴 *hsüeh* "cave" above 目 *mu* "eye", and read *yao* "sunken eyes". On the whole I prefer the former, 宦. A very similar expression 宦 女 *huan nü* occurs in the *Tso Chuan*. (See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. v, part i, p. 172.)

昃 夜 *tsê yeh* "Towards evening". The second character in the original is in form 亦 *i* "also", here and elsewhere on these relics written for its then homophone 夜 *yeh* "night". Neither Lo nor Wang Hsiang have remarked on this fact. Takada, though he cites one instance of 亦 *i* with this value from a Bronze, under the character 夜 *yeh*, gives none from the Bones there, but he recognizes the fact when he quotes (ch. xlvii, p. 4) part of the very inscription we are considering.

"A Rainbow that appeared from the North." It will surely be allowed that it is a strange coincidence that two out of the only three known inscriptions containing the character I have ventured to claim as the archaic form of 虹 *hung* "Rainbow" should exhibit the same sequence of the four crucial words in both. But so it is. A fragment, unfortunately very imperfect, shown in Lo's *Y.H.S.K.*, ch. vii, p. 43, has 出 虹 自 *ch'u hung tzŭ*, then comes a fracture, and on the right in another column the legend continues with 于 妣 乙 *yü pi i* " to (his) late Mother I ", as in the inscription under consideration. Moreover, the broken fragment shows the remains of the character " clouds ", and the expression " towards evening ". It is plain that in both cases we have to do with a forecast of the weather, and that an evening Rainbow counted for much in the science of the meteorological diviners.

" Offered a libation to (his) late Mother I." It will be noticed that in the third column the sixth character from the top has been left without a modern equivalent. The context, especially the three words that follow, make it practically certain that whatever was the sound of the syllable involved, the sense must be more or less as rendered above. Takada, in his *Ku Chou P'ien* (ch. lxxvi, p. 35), has conjectured the modern (but very rare) equivalent to be a character pronounced *lan*, and written with the determinative 酉 *yu* " spirituous liquors ", and 監 *chien* (*kam* in Cantonese), " as the phonetic," according to the *Shuo Wen*. [" There was an archaic *kl-* or *gl-* somewhere in this group," writes Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p. 132.] Takada *may* be right about this, though a fairly plausible case might also be made for 酌 *cho* " to pour out spirits ".

The last two characters 妣 乙, which to one unfamiliar with the tricks of the Shang Dynasty scribes, appear to be one, are examples of what Chinese epigraphists call 合 文 *ho wên*, or " conjoint characters ".

The Plate is reduced from the original figure of about 11 inches in height.

Varuṇa, god of the sea and the sky

By JEAN PRZYLUSKI

IN a previous article[1] I have connected Sanskrit and Pali *bharu* "sea" and Pali *maru* "desert", "sand-desert", and have shown that these words were probably borrowed by Indo-Aryan from one or several non-Aryan languages. Malay *baroh* denotes "low-lying country", "sea-shore", "sea". The dialects of the Malay Peninsula have *baruh* "plain", "flatland", *baruk*, *barok* "shore", and *bâruh* "sea". Sometimes the initial is reduced. In Bahnar *âr* denotes "marsh", "swampy district", *or* "low-lying damp terrain near to watercourses".[2] Annamite has preserved the initial, but the final liquid has become *i*: **bar* > *bai* "coast", "shore", "strand".

Since in Indo-Aryan we find two corresponding forms, *bharu* and *maru*, it is tempting to join with them Sanskrit *maryā*, *maryādā*, Pali *mariyādā* "boundary", "limit", "shore". At first I had been put off by the current opinion, which professes to explain these words by the Indo-European name of the sea, Latin *mare*, Irish *muir*, Gaulish (*are-*) *morica*, Gothic *marei* and *mari*(*-saiws*), Lithuanian *mārēs*, Old Slavonic *morje*. But M. Meillet called my attention to the fact that the words *mare*, *muir*, etc., which range from the Italo-Celtic as far as the Old Slavonic, belong to the north-western Indo-European dialect (*Les dialectes indo-européens*, p. 22), and that the presence of the words *maru*, *maryā*, *maryādā* in Indo-Aryan, i.e. in the south-east, continues to give trouble. The hypothesis of a loan from the Austro-Asiatic languages removes all difficulty.

It is true that *maru* and *maryā* have different finals. It seems that this variation should be placed to the account of the vowel-permutations frequent in the Austro-Asiatic languages, and that we must posit a single radical with two distinct finals, *maru* and **mari*.

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[1] *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1930, pp. 196 sqq.

[2] M. Jules Bloch calls my attention to the fact that with Bahnar *âr*, *or*, we can connect Bengali *haor* "delta marsh-land".

The problem is further amplified if we pursue the inquiry on to the Semitic domain. After reading the article summarized above Father Paul Jouön was so good as to communicate to me the following observations:—"*Bharu* recalls to a Semitist the well-known Arabic word *baḥr* 'sea' (and also 'large river', like the Nile, always called *baḥr* by the natives). Th. Nöldeke (*Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 1910, p. 93) gives as the primary sense 'depression' (rather than 'surface'; cf. *aequor*); whence (1) 'sea', (2) 'land', 'low-lying land', etc. A feminine form *baḥret* has the sense of 'pool', 'basin', 'fish-pond', and also 'land', 'country-side'. Between *bharu*, *maru*, and *baḥr* we have, therefore, in addition to the phonetic similarity, a quite curious accord in a double meaning, 'sea,' 'low-lying land,' or the like. Should not the word *baḥr*, which does not belong to the Semitic in general, have the same origin as Sanskrit and Pali *bharu*?"

In whatever manner *bharu* > *baḥr* made its way into the Semitic domain,[1] we may admit that *bar*(*u*) is very ancient. In fact, the Austro-Asiatic word has, as frequently happens, an equivalent in Sumerian.[2] Delitzsch [3] cites a root *bar*, to which he assigns the following values: (*a*) "on the outside," "outside," "without," whence, through extension of the root, *bara* "out", "away"; (*b*) "free space," "desert," in contrast with human settlements, whence three derivatives, *gu-bar-ra* "free space", "steppe", "desert", *ur-bar-ra* "jackal", *sigga-bar-ra* "wild goat".

The agreement of the Austro-Asiatic languages and the Sumerian entitles us to posit a Palæo-Asiatic radical *bar*. It must have originally designated what lies outside of groupings of human beings, and, consequently, uncultivated lands, wild animals, steppes, deserts, sea-shores, marshes, the sea itself. All these senses are definitely attested in the vocabularies which we have taken into consideration.

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[1] M. Marcel Cohen calls my attention to Guèze (Classic Ethiopian) *baḥr* "stretch of water" and Amharic *baraha* "desert".

[2] On the analogy of Sumerian and Austro-Asiatic words, cf. *BSL.*, vol. xxvii, fasc. 3, p. 227; Rivet, *Sumérien et Océanien*.

[3] *Sumerisches Glossar*, pp. 64–5.

In Sumerian the root *bar*, sometimes enlarged to *bara*, does not modify its initial, and it retains a rather general sense. In the Austro-Asiatic languages the radical assumes different shapes, and such and such a word is specialized in a particular sense. To the Austro-Asiatic languages go back probably the loan-words in Semitic and Indo-Aryan. Of these *bharu* and *maru* are attested only rather late and appear mainly in proper names. *Maryādā* alone goes back to the Vedic period, and its meaning, "confines," "limit," is correspondingly near to the original purport of the root (cf. Sumerian *bar*, for which Delitzsch gives, in addition to the above posited sense, also that of "enclosure", "side"). We shall have to examine whether there do not exist in Vedic, in Hittite, in Mitannian, still more ancient loans.

* * * * *

The *Voyage of the Arab Merchant Sulayman in India and China*, composed in 851,[1] after mentioning the mouths of the Indus and the town of Daybul, adds: "It is there that the coast of western India joins the Barûč territory, where are manufactured the lances called *barûčî.*" Evidently we must connect with Barûč the ancient name *Bharukaccha*, the *Βαρύγαζα* of Ptolemy and the modern Broach. The non-Aryan word *bharu*, like its Sanskrit synonym *kaccha*, signifies "low-lying land", "shore", "swamp"; and, in fact, the compound *Bharu-kaccha* designates a region adjoining the sea and the capital of that region.

Bharu(*kaccha*) and *Maru*(*bhūmi*) form part of the geographical nomenclature of the *Mahābhārata.*[2] Analogous terms are found in the *Dig-varṇana* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the related texts. After the *tīrthas* of the Sindhu the "Bengali" recension names Maru and Anumaru, referring probably to the deserts near the lower course of the Indus.[1] In the different recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the description of the western regions ends with the mountain Asta "the sun-setting", where is erected the palace of Varuṇa.[2] This curious indication is in perfect agreement with the "Geographical Catalogue of the Yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūrī" (ed. Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, i, pp. 35 sqq.). In verse 17 we read—

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[1] Trans. G. Ferrand, in *Les Classiques de l'Orient*, vol. vii, p. 26.

[2] *Bull. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, 1930, p. 198.

Bharuko Bharukacchesu . . .

that is to say—

> "The Yakṣa Bharuka dwells among the people of Bharukaccha."

Now one of the two Chinese translators of this catalogue has rendered *Bharuka* by *shoei t'ien* "god of the water", which suggests Varuṇa.

In the Pali *Jātaka*, ii, pp. 169 sq., a king Bharu (we may also understand "king of the sea") reigns in the Bharu country, and his realm is ultimately engulfed in the ocean.

An analogous legend is probably the source of the story of the foundation of Bharukaccha in the *Divyāvadāna*.[3] That city is stated to have been founded by Bhiru, one of the two ministers of the king of Rauruka, who had managed to escape in a vessel, when the capital was destroyed. Professor Lüders has recently shown that the ancient site of Rauruka named in the *Divyāvadāna* must be sought not in Turkestan, but in the country of the Sindhu-Sauvīras, that is in the region of the lower Indus.[4] It appears that the legend of the destruction of Rauruka alludes to the same mythical cataclysm which had overwhelmed the dominions of king Bharu.

Bharu being a non-Aryan name, the legend of King Bharu is probably non-Aryan. Among the foreign princes who in the *Mahābhārata* bring presents to Yudhiṣṭhira are mentioned (ii, 1830) the Śūdras of Bharukaccha. Everything indicates that we are concerned with a world extraneous to the Brahmanic civilization, and that the traditions relating to the foundation of Bharukaccha by Bhiru sought to explain the non-Aryan origin of the inhabitants.

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[1] Sylvain Lévi, "Pour l'Histoire du Rāmāyaṇa," *Journal Asiatique*, 1918, i, p. 117.

[2] Ibid., p. 122.

[3] The beginning of *Jātaka* 463 renders it apparent that Bharukaccha was a city of the Bharu kingdom.

[4] *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan*, pp. 45 sq.

The facts underlying the brief allusions of the Brahmanic and Buddhist texts may be represented as follows :—The non-Aryan tribes peopling the Indus delta and the neighbouring regions believed that beneath the sea lay the realm of the king of the waters, and that king was revered as a great god. He it is who in the Pali *Jātaka* is called Bharurāja, in the *Mahāmāyūrī* Bharuka, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Varuṇa. But, whereas the Buddhist tradition situates his realm at the bottom of the waters, and fixes his devotees at Bharukaccha, the compilers of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in whose view the gods necessarily dwell upon a mountain, would have this extraneous Varuṇa enthroned upon the Sunset mountain.

Hence we can better explain certain somewhat embarrassing glosses scattered about in the lexicons. *Uṇādi*, i, 7, would explain the word *bharu* by means of *bhṛ*, and Ujjvaladatta remarks, "*bharati bibharti veti*: *bharuḥ svāmī*." The *Siddhānta-kaumudī* adds *Haraś ca*, and the Calcutta edition even gives *Harir Haraś ca* in place of *svāmī Haraś ca*. According to *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* 46 *Bharu* denotes also Śiva. In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* (Introduction, stanza 4) we read—

namāmi Bharvoś caraṇāmbujadvayam.

Mahādeva considers *Bharvoḥ* as a dual form, denoting Hari and Hara.[1] It seems that, after being identified with Varuṇa, the non-Aryan god of the sea had been in later times equated with Śiva or even with the pair Hari-Hara.

Thus we are led to propound the following problem :—Since a non-Aryan god of the sea (*baru*|*bharu*) has been identified with Varuṇa, cannot the name of the Vedic god be explained as a development of *baru* ? Here I may appositely recall the fact that I have already had to answer an analogous question. While studying not long ago the non-Aryan word *patana* "city", "capital", I was able, with the support of the Sumerian and the Austro-Asiatic languages,[1] to go back to a Palæo-Asiatic root. The difficulty was to explain the final member *-na*. To account for this I brought in the Assyrian form *bitanu*. It seems that for Varuṇa the problem takes the same form. We start with an ancient root *bar* enlarged to *bara* (Sumerian) and *baru* (Austro-Asiatic), and by addition of the same suffix *-na* we get *baruna*, which is close to the Vedic *Varuṇa*.

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[1] Cf. H. Lüders, ibid., p. 28.

We may even take a fresh step. So long as *patana* remained isolated, it seemed necessary, in order to explain it, to bring in a Semitic intermediary. But *patana*, *Varuṇa* are the first terms of a series, of which I can say already that in the sequel it will grow. We are therefore at liberty to reason independently of Semitic support and to infer the existence of a suffix *-na* in the Palæo-Asiatic period. In other words, nothing appears to forbid our forming from a Palæo-Asiatic root *baru* a derivative **baruna*. It remains to examine whether that non-Aryan derivative can be the source of the Vedic name *Varuṇa*.

* * * * *

We know that the Boghazköi excavations have yielded two documents in cuneiform writing which go back to the fourteenth century, being two redactions of a treaty concluded between the Hittite king Subbiluliuma and the Mitanni king Mattiwaza. In the copy issued by Mattiwaza the Vedic god is named *Aruna*, whereas in Subbiluliuma's copy the same god is named *Uruwana*.

In a brilliant essay which appeared in 1926[2] Professor Kretschmer sought to explain these names by starting from the word *aruna*, which in Hittite denotes the sea. Actually in the literature posterior to the *Veda* Varuṇa is the god of the sea, and already in the *Ṛg-Veda* he is in relation with the waters. So we should have in Varuṇa a god of the sea, named by the Hittites *Aruna* and borrowed by the proto-Indians from the populations of Western Asia. The form *Uruwana*, of the treaty of Subbiluliuma, as well as the Vedic *Varuṇa* would be explained as corruptions due to the play of popular etymology. In *Uruwana* Kretschmer would find the Indo-Aryan *urú*, " broad ", " large "; but he is undecided in regard to the constituent *-wana*. In *Varuṇa*, he believes, *ar-* has been replaced by *var-*, which in Indo-Aryan suggests the epithets " broad ", " large ".

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[1] *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, v, pp. 174 sqq.

[2] "Varuṇa und die Urgeschichte der Inder," *WZKM.*, 1926, pp. 1–22.

In fine, Professor Kretschmer wishes to connect with Hittite *aruna* " sea ", the three names *Varuṇa*, *Aruna*, and *Uruwana*. This method leaves unexplained the enigmatic *Uruwana*. On the other hand, the characteristic of what is called " popular etymology " is a tendency to replace an unintelligible word by another which has a meaning, even if inappropriate. Now *aruṇa* " brown ", " red-brown ", has a meaning in Indo-Aryan, whereas *Varuṇa* is obscure. Far from complying with the requirements of popular etymology, the substitution of *Varuṇa* for *Aruṇa* would be contrary to the procedures of such etymology. Lastly, the origin of the Hittite word *aruna* remains undetermined.

The explanation which I propose takes account equally of contacts between Aryans, Hittites, and Mitannians; but my starting-point is different. Given a Palæo-Asiatic root *bar*, enlarged in the Austro-Asiatic languages to *baru*, and capable of meaning " sea ", etc., we obtain by the addition of the suffix *-na* a derivative capable of explaining not only the Indian name of the god of the sea, *Varuṇa*, but also the Hittite or Mitannian names *Uruwana* and *Aruna*, and finally the Hittite name of the sea, *aruna*.

Let us dispose first of an initial difficulty. If *Varuṇa* is derived from an ancient *baru*, why is the initial already modified in Vedic, whereas in Sanskrit and Pali *bharu*, the occlusion is retained ? The answer to this question is furnished by the examination of a particular case. In a first essay on non-Aryan names in Indo-Aryan[1] I have shown that the word *kambala* is formed from an Austro-Asiatic root *bala* "hair", preceded by the prefix *kam*. The same root has given in Sanskrit *vāla* and *vāra* "hair", "horse-hair". The two last forms are attested in Vedic, and *vāra* belongs even to the vocabulary of the *Ṛg-Veda*, whereas *kambala* does not appear prior to the *Atharva-Veda*. It seems that the most ancient loans are also those which depart the most from the Austro-Asiatic models; and this seems confirmed by the antithesis between the very ancient *Varuṇa* and the more recent form *bharu*.[2]

If *Varuṇa* represents an ancient *baru* followed by the suffix *-na*, we can at the same time explain the Hittite *aruna* "sea", and the name of the god *Aruna*, who in the treaty of the Mitanni king occupies the place of Varuṇa. In studying the pair *bharu*|*maru* I have shown that in certain Austro-Asiatic languages the initial undergoes complete reduction, e.g. Bahnar *âr*, *or*. The non-occlusion of the initial, which passes from *b* into *v* and finally into zero, accounts for the series *baru-*, *Varuṇa*, *aruna*.

Previous interpreters have been seriously embarrassed by the variant *Uruwana*, contained in the treaty of the king Subbiluliuma. The name of the other party to the contract, king Mattiuza, is presented also under the form Mattiwaza,[3] which shows plainly that the redactors of the treaty were used to doublets characterized by the equivalence *wa* = *u*. Further, M. Benveniste announces to me that in Hittite the writings *-u-* and *-uwa-* are equivalent and that he himself proposes to prove it shortly. The result is that *Varuṇa* could take the form *Uruwana*.

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[1] *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, 1921, pp. 207–8.

[2] As concerns the hesitation between the initials *b* and *v* note, for example, the root *barh*. *ṚV.* has *b* in the forms with *ni*, *v* when the root is preceded by *ā*, *ud*, *pra*, while *TS.* and *Śat.-Br.* always have *b* with *ā* and *v* with *ud*. Cf. *PW.*, s.v.

[3] For an attempt at an interpretation of this name cf. W. Porzig, *ZII.*, pp. 265 sqq., and A. B. Keith, in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (1930), pp. 81 sqq.

The preceding observations enable us perhaps to comprehend another word, the enigmatic *marianni* of the Mitanni treaty. We have already recognized in *-anni* a Mitanni final. *Marianni*, which designates a people, has been brought into connection with Vedic *márya* "young man", "hero".[1] But the context makes us expect a term of less vagueness. The Austro-Asiatic root **mari*, equivalent of *maru*[2] and origin of the Sanskrit *maryādā*, may have designated the peoples of the borders, of the desert, and the vicinity of the sea. *Marianni* recalls the *Marukaioi* cited in Ptolemy's *Geography*.[3] If this connection is not illusory, we can recognize here derivatives of variants *maru* and **mari*.

* * * * *

In the preceding discussion, I have assumed provisionally, along with Pischel[4] and Kretschmer, that the Indian belief which makes Varuṇa god of the sea, far from being late, as certain writers believe, can go back to the beginning. It is true that in the Veda Varuṇa appears mainly as a god of the sky. To explain this double character Kretschmer supposes that the religion of the Aryans developed in two opposite directions. One section adopted the Hittite Aruna, god of the sea; these are the ancestors of the Indians, who during post-Vedic times continued to recognize in Varuṇa a sea-god. As for the Indians who practised the Vedic religion, they amalgamated Aruna and Asura, the god of the sea and the god of the sky. The worshippers of the sea-god regarded as heretics those who made Varuṇa an Asura, and in the end their belief prevailed after the Vedic epoch.

This theory has recently been criticized by A. Berriedale Keith.[5] This scholar regards as improbable a scission between the Aryans who worshipped the god of the sea and those who confused Varuṇa with Asura. He does not see any reason for supposing divergences in the ancient Aryan religion and prefers to hold to the views expounded in *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* : the Aryans had already, from the most ancient period, a god of the sky, who subsequently became Asura, the Lord *par excellence*.

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[1] Discussion in Kretschmer, *WZKM.*, 1926, pp. 8 sqq.

[2] *Supra*, p. 614.

[3] *Ptol.*, vi, 11, 6; cf. *Plin.*, vi, 16, 18.

[4] Cf. *Ved. Stud.*, ii, 124, 214; *Kultur d. Gegenwart*, i, 7², p. 173.

[5] *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (1930), pp. 81–94.

This controversy takes a new aspect, if we assume that the name of the god Varuṇa is derived from a Palæo-Asiatic root. *Baru* denoted originally that which is outside human society. In the eyes of maritime peoples the zone exterior to the tribe is the marsh, the inundated area, and, by extension, the sea. I have shown earlier the pre-eminence of sea spirits in the Austro-Asiatic mythologies.[1] But for the continental Aryans the sea could not have the same importance as for their neighbours. In the Vedic religion a sovereign deity could not reside at the bottom of the ocean ; he had to be enthroned on high, in the light, on the top of the world-mountain. It was therefore inevitable that Varuṇa should attach himself to Asura, god of the sky, and be confused with him. Nothing forbids us to affirm that a section of the Aryans always remained faithful to the Austro-Asiatic Varuṇa, god of the sea.

At the close of the Vedic period the Aryan colonies of northern India were situated principally in the midway valleys of the Indus, the Ganges, and their affluents, while the deltas and coasts were still peopled by tribes fundamentally non-Aryan. The increasing influence of these latter shows itself in religion by the development of Buddhism, Jainism, and other less known sects. Among the men of Madhya-deśa Varuṇa is still worshipped as god of the sky. For the peoples of the sea he is principally a sea god. The introduction of this new divinity into the Aryan mythology marks the weakening of the Brahmanic orthodoxy and the entry of recently assimilated populations upon the scene.

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[1] "La Princesse à l'odeur de poisson et la nāgī," in *Études Asiatiques*, ii, pp. 281 sqq.

Mathara and Paramartha

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IT has been suggested by Dr. Belvalkar[1] that the original commentary on the *Sāṁkhya Kārikā*, which was translated by Paramārtha into Chinese, was none other than the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* and that such differences as there are between the two are not different in kind from the variations between different recensions, such as the Chinese and the Japanese. He cites several instances of agreement between the Chinese commentary and the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*, one of the most notable of these being the initial story of how Kapila came to impart the teaching to Āsuri. A closer examination of the two commentaries would, however, seem to reveal certain doctrinal differences of some importance, variations such as seem not to be susceptible of being explained away on the basis of differences of version. These differences throw considerable doubt on the possibility of the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* having been the original translated by Paramārtha. It is the object of this paper to set out the results of a fairly full analysis made by the present writer. While no positive conclusion is possible, it would appear that Professor Keith's suggestion of both commentaries having drawn from some common original is, perhaps, the most plausible view.

It is proposed, in the first instance, to note the main points of difference between the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* and Paramārtha's commentary as we have it in M. Takakusu's translation.[2]

(*a*) The commentary on the very first verse seems to show a great similarity between the two, such a similarity as would suggest a borrowing. This is in respect of the story of Āsuri's initiation by Kapila and the first promulgation of the Sāṁkhya. The similarity is not, however, as close as it might be, and it loses a great part of its force when it is noted that the story figures in the *Jaya-maṅgalā*, a commentary of unknown date and authorship, which seems to have preceded the *Sāṁkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, in any case.[1] Kapila, according to the (French translation of the) Chinese version, merely asserts Āsuri's enjoyment of the householder's life in the first instance. Only to a second inquiry did Āsuri respond, saying that he did enjoy that life. Some time later Kapila returned, repeated the same words and received the same reply. Kapila then asked him : " Canst thou keep thyself pure and lead the life of a *brahma-cārin* ? " " I can," said Āsuri, and thenceforth began to lead an ascetic life. In this version, the story makes little sense. The *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* tells us that Āsuri was asked three times if he delighted in the householder's life, each time after a thousand years of that life. On the first and the second occasions he said he did enjoy the life, but on the third he replied that he did not. Being asked why, he replied : " Because of the three-fold misery." Kapila promised to teach him the remedy therefor, if Āsuri could lead a *brahma-cārin's* life. Āsuri replied that he could, gave up his wife and children, followed Kapila, and became his beloved disciple. The difference between the assertive and interrogative forms of Kapila's address may be due but to a difference of idiom. But the Chinese version nowhere gives expression to Āsuri's dissatisfaction with the householder's life ; the later question about capacity to lead a pure life and the subsequent renunciation are thus unintelligible. The account given by the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* is very clear, and it is difficult to imagine how the Chinese account could have been so scrappy, if based on that of Māṭhara's. The supposition seems not improper that both drew from a rather cryptic original, of which Māṭhara made better sense than Paramārtha. It has to be noted that the *Jaya-maṅgalā* account is also unintelligible, in that Āsuri is represented as discontented with the householder's life from the first. Here at least one may take it that Kapila came a second and a third time to test the strength of non-attachment before initiating his pupil; the Chinese variation has no such merit. The *Jaya-maṅgalā* account has the further merit of occurring where one might properly expect it, i.e. in the commentary on verse 70, which gives the history of the propagation of Sāṁkhya teaching. In any case, it seems more likely that Māṭhara and Paramārtha drew from a common original, than that the latter drew from the former.

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[1] *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume,* 171–84.

[2] *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient,* iv, 978 et seq.

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[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, V, iii, 416–31.

(*b*) The next point of difference is of considerable importance and occurs in the commentary on verse 3. "The five subtle elements," says Paramārtha, "proceed from *ahaṁ-kāra*; they are products; but they produce the five *mahā-bhūtas* and the *iṅdriyas*; they are productive; that is to say, the subtle element of sound produces ethereal space and the organ of hearing, the subtle element of odour produces the earth and the organ of smell," and so on. The doctrine of the origination of the *indriyas* from the *tanmātras* is foreign to the Sāṁkhya of the *Kārikās*, as expounded by any known Saṃskṛt commentator. It has great affinities with the Vedānta account of evolution. The account given by Paramārtha here is not an isolated lapse, since it occurs elsewhere too, in the commentaries on verses 8, 10, 26, and 56, and is implied by the commentary on verse 34. Thus, commenting on *mahad-ādi tac ca kāryam*, Māṭhara says (and with him Gauḍapāda): "*mahān ahaṁkāraḥ pañca tan-mātrāṇy ekādaśe-'ndriyāṇi pañca-mahā-bhūtāni ca*"; while Paramārtha, probably expanding a similar original, goes into greater detail and says: "Nature produces *mahat*, *mahat* produces *ahaṁ-kāra*, *ahaṁ-kāra* produces the five subtle elements, the five subtle elements produce the sixteen others, that is to say the eleven organs of sense and of action, and the five gross elements." Again, in commenting on verse 10, he says: "The sixteen categories, i.e. the five organs of sense and the others have for cause the five subtle elements," while according to Māṭhara and others the five *tan-mātras* and the eleven organs have *ahaṁ-kāra* for their cause. The commentary on verse 26 enumerates the ten organs and their mode of functioning. "The organ of hearing proceeds from the subtle element of sound and is related in nature to the gross element, ether; it perceives, then, sounds alone. The organ of touch proceeds from the subtle element of touch and is related in nature to the gross element, air; it perceives, then, contact alone. The five organs of action have five functions. The organ of speech, combined with the organs of sense,[1] is capable of articulating names, phrases, and letters of the alphabet. The hands, combined with the organs of sense, are capable of taking, holding, etc., or accomplishing any mechanical act whatever." In verse 34 we are told that each of the organs of action, except speech, has a five-fold content. "The hand," says Paramārtha, "which is composed of five objects, is capable of seizing the five objects, as when it seizes a pot of water. As the hand, so the other organs of action." This view seems to be definitely committed to the doctrine of *pañcī-karaṇa*. This apart, what are the five objects of which the hand is composed—the *tan-mātras* or the *mahā-bhūtas*? Māṭhara seems to mention the *tan-mātras*,[2] but either supposition is difficult to justify on his view that the organs evolve from *ahaṁ-kāra*, independently of the *tan-mātras* and the *mahā-bhūtas*. Māṭhara's view would, therefore, seem to require some account of evolution like that of Paramārtha's, which makes the organs of sense and action develop after and in dependence on the *tan-mātras*.

Again, in commenting on verse 56, Paramārtha, like Gauḍapāda and unlike Māṭhara, gives a résumé of the evolution of the *tattvas*; and here, too, Paramārtha says that *ahaṁ-kāra* produces the subtle elements which, in their turn, produce the eleven organs and the five gross elements.

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[1] Combiné avec les organes des sens.

[2] *Pāṇis tāvat śabda-sparśa-rasa-rūpa-gandha-yuktaḥ.*

It has to be noted that verses 22 and 25 of the *Kārikās* seem to contain a distinctly different teaching about the order of evolution. In commenting on these Paramārtha seems to lay no stress on the order mentioned; and he cannot be taken to have contradicted the order that he expressly lays down at least in four different places. Presumably, these verses are to be treated as not teaching a definite sequence or as not primarily intending the sequence mentioned. It must be remembered that, when one speaks of Paramārtha commenting, one has to understand the commentator whose work Paramārtha translated; for there are places where Paramārtha speaks in his own person, either amplifying the commentary (as in verse 51) or disagreeing therewith (as in verse 8).

The sequence of evolution adopted by Paramārtha has some affinities with the account given in the Tamil classic, *Maṇi-mēkalai*, which again has affinities with the epic account of the Sāṁkhya in the *Mahā-bhārata*.[1] Here the organs of sense evolve from the *mahā-bhūtas*: "From ether (proceed) the evolutes called the ear and sound, from air the evolutes called the skin and touch," and so on. As in Caraka's account, the *tan-mātras* are not separately recognized. The origin of the organs of action is a little obscure, being indicated by the phrase *ivaṟṟiṟṟokku vikāramāy*; this may mean that they are modifications of the skin (*tvak*), or that they result from a combination of the sense-organs and their sensations, already mentioned; or, with some straining of the text, it may mean "being evolutes, functioning in combination with these (organs of sense)". Such an interpretation as the last would make that account identical with that of Paramārtha, which speaks of each organ of action as capable of this or that function, *combined with the organs of sense.* Whatever be the precise meaning, it seems clear that there was an earlier account of the evolution of the *indriyas*, which was different from that of the orthodox expositors of the Sāṁkhya of the *Kārikās.* And Paramārtha (that is to say, his original) seems to have been indebted more to this account than to a more usually current account like that of Māṭhara. The hypothesis that such accounts are due to a later attempt at syncretism (between the Vedānta and the Sāṁkhya) is not very plausible; for the attempt must have been made before the fifth century A.D., and it is strange that it should not have been utilized by such professed Vedāntist commentators as Vācaspati (and presumably Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara). With this we shall pass on to note other points of difference.

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[1] See "The Maṇimēkalai account of the Sāṁkhya," *Journal of Indian History*, viii, 322–7.

(*c*) The account of *Śeṣavat* inference in the commentary on verse 5 agrees with that given in the *bhāṣya* on *Nyāya-Sūtra*, I, i, 5, and in the *Jaya-maṅgalā.* It is inference from the effect to the cause, not from the part to the whole, as both Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara make out, citing the inference from the brininess of one drop of sea-water to the similar taste of the rest. Inference from effect to cause is included in *pūrvavat* inference, according to Māṭhara. Paramārtha's original seems to have greater affinities with Vātsyāyana than with Māṭhara.

(*d*) Exhibiting the resemblances between the *pradhāna* and *puruṣa*, Māṭhara says that the latter, like the former, is one; and Gauḍapāda makes the statement even more explicitly.[1] Paramārtha differs and says that in one respect *puruṣa* is *unlike* the *pradhāna*, in that the former is multiple. This difference is noted by M. Takakusu.[2]

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[1] *Yathā vyaktād visadṛśam pradhānam tathā pradhāna sadharmā puruṣaḥ. tathā hy ahetumān nityo vyāpī niṣkriya eko 'nāśrito 'liṅgo niravayavaḥ svatantra iti* (*Māṭhara*). *Anekam vyaktam, ekam avyaktam, tathā ca pumān apy ekaḥ* (*Gauḍapāda*).—Verse 11.

[2] *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, iv, 994.

(*e*) The co-operation of the three *guṇas*, mentioned in verse 13, is explained by Paramārtha on the ground that, *pertaining to one identical soul*, and not being independent, they are capable of doing something together. There is nothing corresponding to the words italicized in the commentaries of Māṭhara, Gauḍapāda, or Vācaspati.

(*f*) In the introduction to verse 14 Paramārtha agrees with Vācaspati, but not with Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda. Being composed of the three *guṇas* has been explained in the case of both Nature and its evolutes. What about *avivekitva*, etc. ? These, too, are shown to be common to both in the next verse. Thus Paramārtha ; while Māṭhara says that *triguṇatva*, etc., are explained of the *avyakta* in verse 14, having been shown earlier in the case of the *vyakta*. This difference is not of much import.

There is also a difference in the exposition of the phrase *tad-viparyayā-'bhāvāt*, because of the non-existence of the contrary. This is how Paramārtha understands it : " *avivekitva*, etc., follow from being composed of the three *guṇas*. Knowing that the six characteristics are in the evolved, we know that they exist in Nature too. 'How do you know that ? ' If the contrary were the case, then they would not exist at all ; in other words, if we suppress the six properties of the cause, i.e. of Nature, the six properties of the effect cannot exist any longer ". This is akin to Gauḍapāda's comment : " As, where there are threads, there is cloth ; the threads are not one thing, and the cloth another. Why so ? From the absence of the reverse (they are not contraries to each other) " (Wilson's translation). In so far as it bears on the argument in the verse, this can only mean that, since cause and effect must be of like nature, and the unevolved is the cause of the evolved, the former must also possess the qualities of *avivekitva*, etc., known to exist in the latter. This agrees in substance with what Paramārtha says, the illustration thread and cloth being common to him, too. Māṭhara's own meaning is not very clear. He, too, uses the cloth and thread illustration, saying, where the threads are, there the cloth is, and *vice versa*. He who sees the evolved sees the unevolved too ; and the *yogin* who can see the *pradhāna* sees the evolved as well. Hence, because of the absence of the contrary (i.e. presumably the perception of the one without the other) the unevolved is shown to possess *avivekitva*, etc. What is understood here, too, seems to be only the causal relation, though it is not even as clear as in Gauḍapāda's account. Assuming that Paramārtha was faithful to the original in his translation, that seems to have been more elaborate than either Gauḍapāda's comment or Māṭhara's, and the suggestion that both the first two borrowed from such an original, condensing it in different ways, is not without force. Vācaspati's interpretation is very different and refers to the absence of the triple nature (of pleasure, pain, and indifference) from the Spirit.[1]

(*g*) In explaining the phrase *kaivalyārtham pravṛtteś ca*, Paramārtha sets out in detail the futility of our efforts to secure release, if bodies alone existed. Even the practice of cremating bodies would have no merit, but would, on the contrary, be sinful, if there were no soul, for whose benefit it is to be performed. No such exposition is found in Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda. Māṭhara understands a reference to the purpose of the evolution of the *pradhāna*. That purpose is isolation (*kaivalya*), and this could not be if there were no soul. This is how the *Jaya-maṅgalā* understands it, while Vācaspati and Gauḍapāda adopt the same sense as Paramārtha. This is another instance of Paramārtha agreeing with Gauḍapāda rather than with Māṭhara, suggesting the derivation of all three with variations from a common original.

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[1] The Editor of the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*, in the Chowkhamba Series, puts in a footnote explaining the phrase as referring to the absence of the contrary, i.e. *vivekitva*, etc., from the unevolved, and says this is what Māṭhara means. The explanation is not convincing, but if that *is* Māṭhara's meaning, it differs from both Vācaspati's and Paramārtha's understanding of the phrase.

(*h*) In explaining the varying incidence of births Paramārtha, unlike Māṭhara, says that, if there were but one Spirit, all women in all countries would conceive at the same time, and give birth at the same time to boys alone or girls alone. This explanation is not found in Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda, though the difference is hardly significant.

(*j*) Paramārtha's account of *yama*, *niyama*, etc., under verse 23, differs from that of Māṭhara, which agrees with that of Gauḍapāda. *Yama* and *niyama* are forms of *dharma*. What Māṭhara calls *yama* is counted as *niyama* by Paramārtha, i.e., *ahiṁsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahma-carya*, *aparigrahaḥ*. The sub-divisions of *yama*, as enumerated by Paramārtha, do not correspond to the enumeration of *yama* or *niyama* by Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda. One wonders how far the translator is at fault, as he clearly is, in the footnote on page 1009, where he has misunderstood Gauḍapāda's enumeration.

(*k*) The first line of verse 27 reads thus in the translation: "The *manas* is that which discerns. One says that that organ is of two kinds (i.e., *jñānendriya* and *karmendriya*)." This corresponds to Bhaṭṭotpala's reading: "*saṁkalpakam atra manaḥ, ubhayātmakam indriyaṃ ca sādharmyāt*",[1] more than to the usually accepted reading of the *Kārikā*. The illustration of *ubhayātmakatva* given by Paramārtha is that of a person who is an artisan among artisans and an orator among orators. This is similar to, but not identical with, Māṭhara's illustration of Devadatta being a shepherd among shepherds and a wrestler among wrestlers.

The example of discernment cited by Paramārtha is distinctive. A man finds that there is treasure and food in a certain place; he resolves to go there to feed and enrich himself. Such acts of discernment and judgment constitute the function of the *manas*.

There is a distinction made among the organs which is peculiar to Paramārtha. There are some organs that apprehend distant objects, others those that are near. They have a two-fold object, (1) to avoid danger, (2) to protect the body. The former belongs to the eyes and ears, which, seeing and hearing objects from afar, avoid the danger. It falls to the other eight organs to protect the body; they perceive eight classes of objects, each one of which corresponds to an organ; this permits us to regulate our body according to the objects. All this disquisition has no counter-part in Gauḍapāda or Māṭhara.

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[1] See *The Sāṁkhya Kārikā*, University of Madras, p. 126.

(*l*) Paramārtha seems to waver between two senses of *ālocana-mātram*. Is it *bare* awareness or a *unique* awareness? Vācaspati adopts the former sense, while Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda adopt the latter. Paramārtha's words seem to favour both views. Thus he says: "The eyes only see forms, and that is the function of the eyes. It is only a perception incapable of discernment or handling. The other organs, too, act only on their respective objects." The first and the third of these sentences favour the notion of *unique* awareness, while the second sentence conveys the idea of *bare* awareness.

(*m*) In explaining, under verse 31, the teaching that *puruṣārtha* alone is the cause of evolution, Paramārtha says: "The soul has the will (*volonté*) 'you have to manifest yourself and find for me a solitary existence (i.e. isolation)'. To obey this will of the soul, the three *guṇas* produce all the organs." We are here presented with a soul that has a will, a notion not easily reconcilable with the Sāṁkhya conception of *puruṣa*.

(*n*) To explain the transmission of cognitions to *buddhi*, the analogy is employed of functionaries passing on the money collected by them to the king. This analogy is used by Vācaspati, too, but not by Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda.

(*o*) The six *kośas* mentioned by Paramārtha, under verse 39, are blood, flesh, tendon, semen, brain, and bone. This enumeration agrees with that of Vācaspati, with the exception of marrow, which is substituted for semen. Gauḍapāda, too, mentions the *kośas*, but does not apportic them between the two parents. This is how the appropriation is made by—

Vācaspati		*Māṭhara*		*Paramārtha*	
Mother	*Father*	*Mother*	*Father*	*Mother*	*Father*
Hair	Tendon	Skin	Tendon	Tendon	Hair
Blood	Bone	Blood	Bone	Blood	Bone
Flesh	Marrow	Flesh	Marrow	Flesh	Semen.

Both in the enumeration and the appropriation there is greater similarity between Māṭhara and Vācaspati than between Māṭhara and Paramārtha.

(*p*) The word "liṅgam", in verse 40, is explained by Māṭhara, Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati as *laya-yuktam.* Paramārtha, however, takes it to mean "endowed with the mark of subtlety", and explains it thus: "The subtle body migrates through (several) existences, and it is that which sages alone see. (That is why one says that it has the mark of subtlety.)" Such an explanation is certainly not derived from Māṭhara.

(*q*) The *bhāvas* that are *sāṃsiddhika* are explained by Paramārtha, under verse 43, as dispositions acquired by good deeds performed in a prior existence. Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda explain the word as meaning connate (*sahotpanna*). A connate disposition may be due to good deeds in a prior existence; but such an idea hardly squares with their being connate with the divine sage Kapila, *in the first creation* (Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara). Dispositions acquired by earlier acquired merit are classed as *prākṛtika* by Gauḍapāda.

(*r*) The explanation of the term *ādhyātmika-tuṣṭi* is different in Paramārtha and Māṭhara, the former agreeing with Gauḍapāda, and the latter with Vācaspati. Paramārtha says they are internal contentments, because they are produced in the intellect, *aham-kāra* and *manas*; they relate to Nature, Means, Time, and Luck. Māṭhara says they concern the self (both he and Vācaspati use the words *ātmānam adhikṛtya*); they are *called* Nature, Means, Time, and Luck.

The explanation given of *ambhas*, etc., by Paramārtha, though distinctive, consists of nothing more than a translation of the names, such as would have been felt necessary in rendering the commentary into a foreign language. Thus, *ambhas* is rendered as lubricating water, *salilam* as moving water, and so on. The translator, M. Takakusu, gives in a footnote[1] the explanation of these terms as given by Fujii, the Japanese commentator.

(*s*) *Dānam* in verse 51 is explained as gift, in agreement with Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda. But there is a long tale to explain how gifts secure *siddhi*. A Brāhman is hated by others, seeing which, he becomes an ascetic. Then, his master and fellow-disciples, too, hold him in hatred, and do not communicate knowledge to him. He betakes himself to a distant village, saying to himself: "In this village there are no Brāhmans; I can pass here my summer retreat." During his stay he gets many gifts. He gives what is superfluous to his friends and acquaintances; he gives of it even to women and shepherds. At the close of the summer retreat everybody makes him gifts of the triple staff, the water-bowl, clothes, etc. At the approach of the festival of Śakra he asks the villagers who wish to accompany him to his village to see the festival to bring him each a present. Having arrived at his place, he betakes himself to his old master. Choosing the best of the gifts, he offers them to him; the rest he distributes among his fellow-students. Then they all begin to love him. His master, in return for the present, communicates knowledge to him. By that knowledge he arrives at absolute wisdom and final deliverance. This perfection is then acquired by gifts.

There is nothing like the suggestion of such a story in the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*. And the hand that embroidered it could not have been Paramārtha's, since he has here a long note of his own, giving a slightly different explanation of the acquisition of perfection by gifts. This *siddhi* called

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[1] *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, iv, 1038.

sadā-pramudita, he says, is crossing by universal love; a man who, after having been hated by all gives away all his goods in alms and makes himself loved by all, gains this perfection, since all wish him to attain deliverance. It is not here a question of pleasing the master and fellow-disciples by gifts acquired elsewhere. That story should have belonged to the original translated by Paramārtha.

There are also some other differences between Māṭhara's exposition and that of Paramārtha. Thus, extermination of the three kinds of misery can come about, according to the former, by *ūha*, *śabda*, or *adhyayana*, while Paramārtha insists on *adhyayana* in every case. The recognition of six stages of contemplation and eight elements of *adhyayana* is again peculiar to Paramārtha.

(*t*) Paramārtha's explanation of *stamba* in verse 54 is distinctive. The lowest rung of creation is styled a pillar, because herbs, trees, mountains, and rocks *support* the three worlds.

(*u*) *Autsukya*, in verse 58, is rendered by Paramārtha as incertitude, not as desire, the sense attached to it by known commentators in Saṃskṛt. There is also in the Chinese commentary a discussion of the meaning of *avyakta*. That name is applied to Nature, since it is beyond the domain of sense; its existence is known all the same, for the reasons given in verse 15.

(*v*) *Puruṣasya ātmānam prakāśya*, in verse 59, is rendered by Paramārtha as "having obliged the soul to manifest itself".[1] This does not agree with any Saṃskṛt commentary. It has also the demerit of not squaring with the illustration, which Paramārtha renders thus: "Just as an actor appears on the scene and disappears, after having represented some one."

(*w*) *Sukumārataratva*, in verse 61, is rendered as *delicatesse*, in agreement with the *Jaya-maṅgalā*, which says that the word means *sūkṣmataram itarat*. There is no reference at all to the bashful lady of good birth, who accidentally exposes herself and thenceforth retires for ever in confusion. There is agreement with Māṭhara (and Gauḍapāda) in treating the two lines of the verse as independent, and in the discussion of Īśvara, spontaneity, time, etc., as the cause of the universe. But the discussion seems to come in abruptly, as introduced by Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda, so much so that it has given room for Tilak to postulate a lost *kārikā*; Paramārtha's introduction, however, is more natural and almost convincing. This is how it goes: Thus in the world a man sees a woman endowed with excellent qualities; then he sees another woman who is the most excellent of all; he thinks: "She is the most excellent and she is unrivalled." In the same way, Nature is the most delicate of the twenty-four principles. How do you know that? Because she does not bear one's gaze (is invisible). One may object. This view is not correct, because the isolation of the soul does not come about from its seeing Nature. For the preceptor, who considers Īśvara to be the cause of the world, says: "The soul, ignorant and separated from Nature, contents itself with joys and sorrows; Īśvara alone can send it to heaven or to hell." Because of this, Nature cannot be liberated, even when the soul has seen Nature. The subtleness (*delicatesse*) of Nature cannot then be proved.

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[1] *Après avoir obligé l'Âme à se manifester.*

Then follows the discussion of Īśvara, etc. This more natural way of introducing the discussion strongly suggests Paramārtha's dependence on a fuller commentary than that of Māṭhara, while at the same time it makes needless the postulation of a lost *kārikā*.[1]

(*x*) The explanation of verse 67 is very peculiar and makes little sense as it stands. Because of full and perfect knowledge, it is said, *dharma*, etc., have no longer any influence; transmigration is arrested, as the body of the potter's wheel, whose movement one interrupts. But surely the point of the illustration is not the stopping of the wheel, but its continuing to go round even after the potter has ceased to rotate it. The words of Paramārtha's commentary make it clear that the French translation is not at fault. The idea of *jīvan-mukti* finds no place here, though that would seem to be the more fitting answer to the question, posed in the *avatārikā* to the verse. If knowledge gives deliverance, why are you and I not yet released? As it is, Paramārtha would seem to say that release comes only with death, as shown by the introduction and the commentary on verse 68. If the Buddhist monk was not mistranslating or misinterpreting the original, we seem to come across a Sāṁkhya untainted by the possibly Vedānta (*advaita*) notion of *jīvan-mukti*.

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[1] The present writer has shown in his edition of the *Sāṁkhya Kārikā* how the number seventy of the Saptati may be accounted for by omitting verse 63, as the Chinese version does, and treating verses 72 and 73 as additions by later hands. Any consideration of the verses mentioned favours this procedure, while there is nothing of any weight to be urged against it.

(*y*) One of the points of similarity strongly relied on by Dr. Belvalkar for his thesis is the parallelism in the list of Sāṁkhya teachers between Kapila and Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa. But the parallelism is not really very close. These are the lists according to—

Paramārtha	and	*Māṭhara*
Kapila		Kapila
Āsuri		Āsuri
Pañcaśikha		Pañcaśikha
Ho-kia		Bhārgava
Ulūka		Ulūka
Po-poli		Vālmīki
Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa		Hārīta
		Devala
		Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa

Dr. Belvalkar would identify Po-poli with Devala and thus make the two lists identical. But between Ulūka and Īśvara Kṛṣṇa there is but one teacher according to Paramārtha, whereas there are at least three according to Māṭhara, perhaps more, if *prabhṛti* in *Devala-prabhṛtīn* is used in the ordinary sense of *etcetera*. Here, again, dependence on a common original seems far more probable than dependence of one on the other.

From a consideration of the numerous major points of difference it would appear that the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* could not in any case have been the original translated by Paramārtha. There is a probability of his having utilized it to write a commentary of his own ; but this does not deserve much consideration, since there are clearly places where he has remarks of his own to offer and he offers them in his own person. Such a procedure would have been unnecessary had the commentary been his own. There are, at the same time, points of agreement which strongly suggest their dependence at least through a common original. Such, for instance, are the following :—

(1) The treatment of *aviśuddhi*, *kṣaya*, and *atiśaya* as *additional* defects, characteristic of Scriptural means of meeting misery, over and above the defects in the means known to perception ;

(2) the exposition of the four kinds of non-existence (*abhāva*) in verse 7 ;

(3) the criticism of the Vaiśeṣikas and the Bauddhas, under verse 8 (though Paramārtha, in an independent note, says the refutation of Buddhism is an *ignoratio elenchi*) ;

(4) the mention of five functions of the *guṇas* in verse 12, instead of four, as by Vācaspati ;

(5) the illustration of *triguṇādi-viparyaya*, in verse 18, by the three sons of a Brāhman, one happy, another excitable, the third stupid ;

(6) the illustration of *sākṣitva*, in verse 19, by a *bhikṣu* looking on at *saṃsārins* ;

(7) the examples cited under verse 20 of the *samyoga* of the pot with fire, and of a Brāhman taken with thieves, and consequently taken for a thief ;

(8) the illustration of the union of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* by that of a king and his subjects ;

(9) the description of the vital airs and the treatment of them as functions of all the thirteen organs;

(10) the classification and illustration of the forms of bondage, under verse 46;

(11) the understanding of *viparyaya*, in verse 46, as equivalent to doubt, and the story of the four disciples of a Brāhman, which though not narrated in detail, seems to be implied by Māṭhara;

(12) the story of the deaf man who is unable to hear and perpend Sāṁkhya teaching; and so on. At least two instances have been mentioned already of greater agreement with Gauḍapāda than with Māṭhara. A consideration of these makes it alike impossible for one to entertain Dr. Belvalkar's view or to hold that Paramārtha did not draw on the material that was used in the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*. The suggestion of a common original for both seems thus the most plausible one.[1] If, thus, it is no longer certain that the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* was the original translated by Paramārtha, the date of the former becomes unsettled. There is no reason to be sure that it came before the fifth century A.D., or that it necessarily preceded even Gauḍapāda's *bhāṣya*; for, if Māṭhara drew from another original, Gauḍapāda may have drawn on it too, and not on Māṭhara's work. In all such speculations a further study of the Chinese version, in the original tongue, may be of inestimable value.

MADRAS.
23rd October, 1930.

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[1] See also Keith, *The Sāṁkhya System*, p. 70, particularly *fn*.

Grammatical Sketch of the Ple-Tĕmer Language

By PAUL SCHEBESTA

Translated by C. O. BLAGDEN

Translator's Preface

THE translation and publication of this article have been unavoidably delayed by the pressure of other work. For typographical reasons the Sakai words, written originally in the Anthropos alphabet, have been transcribed into the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, and an explanation of some of the symbols used may be helpful.

The a is about midway between cardinal vowel No. 4 (French "dame") and No. 5 (the French negative "pas"); the ɛ is about No. 3 (French "est"); the æ is between this last and the *a* in the English "hat"; the e is about No. 2 (German "Reh"); the ɪ is a closer variety of the preceding; the ɨ is apparently a very high neutral vowel, something like the high neutral vowels that occur in Northern Welsh and Russian; the ə is like the Malay neutral vowel *ĕ*, lower than the ɨ but generally rather forward and moderately high; the ɜ is a much lower variety, which in a previous paper I represented by œ, as the author had described it as resembling an open German *ö*. I am not sure whether it is a rounded front vowel or a neutral one. The ɔ is about No. 6 (German "voll"); the o about No. 7 (French "eau"); the ʊ is a closer variety of the last. It does not appear whether the i and u are quite cardinal Nos. 1 and 8 respectively, or slightly lower; the ĭ and ŭ represent semi-vowels (English *y* and *w* respectively), and are also used as the second parts of certain diphthongs.

The c and ɟ are used here to denote not true palatals, but palatalized alveolars like the corresponding Malay sounds usually written *ch* and *j* respectively. The corresponding fricative is ɕ, a sound between English *s* and *sh*, and the corresponding nasal is here represented by ɲ; the ŋ is the velar nasal, in English and Malay written *ng*; the ɴ is further back and is described as being pharyngal; the ħ is also probably a pharyngal rather than a velar fricative, though in a previous paper I had represented it by x; the ˀ is the glottal stop; length of vowel is indicated by ː, nasalization by ˜. Word stress is not indicated, as it always falls on the final syllable of a word.

C. O. B.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The present article is an outline sketch of a Sakai dialect. The Sakai are a people of the hilly interior of the Malay Peninsula regarding whom our knowledge is still incomplete. They are racially and culturally quite distinct from the Negritos and all the other races of the country. The Sakai are divided into two cognate stocks, the Ple-Tĕmer and the Sĕmai, the difference between them being most marked in their speech. Of the Sĕmai language of the Batang Padang region in Perak we possess at any rate pretty full vocabularies; but nothing of much importance has as yet been published on the Ple language. To the following grammatical sketch two short texts have been appended.

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

Numerals

1. **neːi**; 2. **nar**; 3. **nɛˀ**; 4. **roːb pedoħ** (**pedoħ** = "here"); 5. **lebæˀ**. E.g. **neːi ħnədˀ** "one night"; **nar ħnədˀ** (or **nar tenəbˀn**) "two nights"; **nɛˀ gecɛ** "three months"; **nar pənaˀ na balas ma kuəd** "(after) two years he returns to (the) child".

There are also prefix-forms such as **pinei** "one"; **panar** "two", e.g. **lamar pinei** "take away one"; **samar panar** "throw away two"; **æ bənɛˀ** "we three"; **ar bərnar** "we two"; **kaˀan bərnar** "you two" (dual).

Names of the fingers (not used as numerals, though people do count on their fingers and toes: two fists together = 10, ıd both fists put on the toes = 20) : 1. kaɲɛ " little finger " ; pediˀ " ring finger " ; 3. kənamar " middle finger " ; 4. tənlɛˀ " index finger " ; 5. tabo: " thumb ".

Personal Pronouns

1. *Used as Subject.*

Sing. 1st p. ĭe: ; 2nd p. ha ; (ĭaħ = " thou there ") ; 3rd p. na ; (ɪ or ɪħ seems to be used only as object).

Plur. 1st p. (inclusive) æ ; (exclusive) kəni, kani, kandeˀ ; 2nd p. ɲəbˀn, ɟəbˀn ; 3rd p. ŭagˀn, ugˀn (or u:n), nɛ ; ugˀn is used as a 3rd p. pl. of persons whom one does not see, much like the German " man " ; ŭagˀn on the other hand is used of such as are near at hand. (It is not quite clear to me whether it is not also therefore used as a 2nd p. pl.) nɛ(n) ɛdˀn " they carry away ". But perhaps this nɛ is only a plural particle.

Dual : (inclusive) ar nar, ar bərnar " we two " ; (exclusive) kaˀan bənar, kaˀan bərnar " you two ".

" Self " : 1st p. sing. dəriˀ ; 2nd and 3rd p. sing. cəriˀ (abbreviated ciˀ), e.g. ĭe: dəriˀ " I myself " ; ha cəriˀ " thou thyself " ; na cəriˀ " he himself " ; æ cəriˀ " we ourselves " ; cəriˀ pəlˀuigˀn " Pĕluig himself ".

Examples.—ĭe: hɔ: " I want " ; ĭe: hɔ:d ĭe: ge:i " I want to eat " ; ta ĭe: hɔ:d ge:i ge:i, ĭe: ɟɛ " I don't want to eat, I don't care to " ; o:g, ĭibˀn ge:i (for o:g ĭe: ibˀn ge:i) " give, I want to eat ".

ĭe: itugˀn " I am afraid " ; ha hatugˀn " thou art afraid " ; ha igˀn ɔĭgˀn, ha tanogˀn " be not thou angry, thou dragon " ; ha habˀn ge:i " thou canst eat " ; cɔ ha ne: en de:gˀn " whom (dost) thou see in (the) house ? " ; ha(m) keɔg tata kare:ĭ " thou, listen to Tata Karei ! " (this was said to me by a boy).

na ɲɔ os " he makes fire " ; na doħ na tərgo:b " she here she smears (oil) " ; na cica(ħ) " he eats " ; na kəbɨs " he is dead ".

æ(g) ɟegɟɔ:g " we shift (camp) " ; æ kenbɜ æ(g) ɟegɟɔ:g

“ we many we shift (camp) ” ; **æ bənɛʔ æ cəbcib** “ we three we go ” ; **æ barnɛʔ æ(m) ɟɔ:g** “ we three we shift (camp) ” ; **æ kɔħ kəmogʔn** “ we cut shin ” ; **kəni hɔ:dʔn səlɔgʔn** “ we want to sleep ” ; **kandeʔ na** “ we here ”.

The use of **ɲəbʔn** is not very clear to me.

ŭag cib ma tui “ you (*or* they) go thither ” ; **ŭagʔn ɲəbʔn hɔ:dʔn ɲəbʔn səlɔgʔn** “ you (*plural* ?) want (*plural* ?) to sleep ” ; **ugʔn ȼenʔɔĭ gɔs, ugʔn aŋkɛdʔn kəmuĭd ma sərɔg** “ they (the) living people, they carry (the) dead into (the) forest ”.

2. *Used as Object.*

The pronouns used for the subject are also used for the object, but they are then put after the verb and may be accompanied by the particle **ma.**

E.g. **o:g ma ha** “ give to thee ” ; **o:g ma ŭagʔn** “ give to them ” ; **ĭe: ihɔ̃d ĭe:** (or **ĭe: ihɔ̃d ma ĭe:**) “ I love myself ” ; **ĭe: ihɔ̃d ha** (or **ĭe: ihɔ̃d ma ha**) “ I love thee ” ; **ĭe: ihɔ̃d məna na** “ I love him ” ; **ĭe: ihɔ̃d æ** (or **ĭe: ihɔ̃d ma æ**) “ I love us ” ; **ĭe: ihɔ̃d ŭagʔn** (or **ĭe: ihɔ̃d ma ŭagʔn**) “ I love them ”.

It would not be correct to say **ma na** in place of **məna na.**

ma naʔ = “ outside ” (Malay *ka-luar*), e.g. **teɟ ma naʔ** “ put (it) outside ”.

3. *Used as Possessive.*

Whereas the relation of object to verb is indicated either by putting the pronoun after the verb or by means of the particle **ma**, the possessive relation is only indicated by subordinate position.

E.g. **malʊ:ʔ do: ha ?** “ where (is) thy father ? ” (literally, “ where father thou ? ”) ; **malʊ:ʔ do: nana ?** “ where (is) his father ? ”

But if **cəriʔ** is used instead of **na** (or **nana**) it precedes instead of following the noun that denotes what is possessed, e.g. **malʊ:ʔ cəriʔ do: ?** (or **malʊ:ʔ ciʔ do: ?**) “ where (is) his father ? ”

Other examples : **de:gʔn ĭe:** “ my house ” ; **de:gʔn ha** “ thy house "; **de:g?n na** (or **de:g?n nana**) " his house " ; **de:g?n ɪħ** " his house " (when the person is far away and not in sight) ; **de:g?n æ** " our house " (inclusive) ; **de:g?n kande?** " our house " (exclusive) ; **de:g?n ɲɔb?n** " your house " (the " you " being plural) ; **de:g?n ŭag?n, de:g?n u:n,** or **de:g?n ug?n** " their house ", the **u:n** or **ug?n** corresponding in use to the **ɪħ** of the singular.

cɔ ha ne: en (or **ɟelŭɔg?n**) **de:g?n na ?** " whom (dost) thou see in his hut ? " ; **nar pəna? na balas ma kuɔd ɪħ** " (after) two years he returns to his child " ; **na gurl ma do:(ħ) dada? ɪħ** " she sits with her breast turned towards here (i.e. towards the ground) ", literally " she sits towards here breast she " ; **na ħuɔ? cacɔ? ɪħ** " she sorrows for her grandchildren ".

Demonstratives

nu? " this here " ; **na?** " this " (further off than **nu?**) ; **tui** " this there " ; **te:** " that yonder ", e.g. **ɕen?ɔĭ a nu?** " this man here " ; **ɕen?ɔĭ a na?** " this man " ; **ɕen?ɔĭ en tui** " this man there " ; **ɕen?ɔĭ en te:** " that man yonder " ; **cɔ a na? ?** " who (is) this ? " (Reply) **ɕen?ɔĭ** " a man " ; **lʊ:? a na? ?** " what (is) this ? " (Reply) **batu** " a stone " ; **gurl a nu?** " sit down here (close by) " ; **gurl a na?** " sit down here (a little further off) " ; **gurl en tui** " sit down there " ; **ido:l** " to put, to lay down ", **ido:l en a nu?** " put here (close by) " ; **ido:l en a na?** " put here " ; **ido:l en tui** " put there " ; **ido:l en te:** " put yonder (far away) " ; **ido:l en ɟero:** " put yonder (quite far away) ".

nado: " this ", e.g. **go:b nado:** " this foreigner " ; **o:g ma ĭe: nado:** " give me this ".

The following demonstratives denote progressively increasing remoteness : **nado: ; nanin ; nana ; nana tui ; na ha ba te: ; na te: ; na ha te:**.

iħ do:ħ ĭe: ib?n cib " to-day " (literally, " day this ") " I will go ".

Relative

There is no separate word for the relative, the relative clause being merely co-ordinated with the principal clause, e.g. **ɕenˀɔĭ ĭe: idak** (abbreviation of **ĭe: ĭe: dak**) **hatɔp na kəbɨs** " (the) man I saw formerly, he (is) dead ".

Interrogatives

cɔ " who ? " e.g. **cɔ a naˀ ?** " who (is) this ? " ; **cɔ(r) təɛl a naˀ ?** " who did this ? " (Reply) **təɛl ĭe:** " I did " ; **cɔ ha ne: en de:gˀn ?** " whom (dost) thou see in (the) house ? "

lʊ:ˀ " what ? " ; e.g. **lʊ:ˀ a naˀ ?** " what (is) that ? " Instead of **lʊ:ˀ** there is also **mɔh o:** " what ? what's the matter ? "

malʊ:ˀ " where ? " ; e.g. **malʊ:ˀ do: ha ?** " where (is) thy father ? "

ilʊ:ˀ (or **ɲilʊ:ˀ**) **kenʊ ?** " what (is thy, his, etc.) name ? "

mɔ: hubi iha ? " hast thou yams ? " ; **mɔ: hubi lelo: hɔĭ ?** " hast thou yams, or not ? " (**lelo:** = Malay *kalau.*)

It does not appear to me that there is any particle used to introduce an interrogative sentence.

Substantives

Formation of the Plural.

In general the plural is similar in form to the singular and only recognizable as a plural by means of the context. But there is also a plural formation made with the help of the prefix **mən** (or **bən**), e.g. from **ĭurl**, **mənĭurl** " souls of the dead " ; **ɕenˀɔĭ**, **mənɕenˀɔĭ** " men ", " people " ; **ɟehuˀ**, **mənɟehuˀ** " trees " ; **atũd**, **mənatũd** " elephants " ; **taŋkˀɛl**, **məntaŋkˀɛl** " elephants " ; **bamug**, **mənmamug** " tigers " ; **alɛˀ**, **mənalɛˀ** " girls " ; **cacɔ**, **məncacɔ** " grandchildren ".

Formation of Substantives from Verbs by means of the infixes **an** *and* **en.**

canugˀn " hammer " from **co:gˀn** " to beat " ; **cənib** " path ", **cib** " to go " ; **cənɛr** " knife ", **cɛr** " to cut " ; **kənərɟɛr** " dance ", **kərɟɛr** " to dance " ; **gənabagˀ** " song ", **gabagˀ** " to sing " ; **cənərcɛr** " ornamental design ", **cərcɛr** " to make ornamental designs " ; **cənabɔl** " rattan rings round a blowpipe ", **cabɔl** " to wrap round " ; **cənɔs** " plaited ring made of rattan or the fibre *urat batu* ", **cɔs** " to plait " ;

cəŋkʊb "plaited cap for the blowpipe quiver", **cakʊ:b** "to peel bark off a tree" (from which it may be inferred that the caps of quivers were originally made of bark); **pənlɛs** "spatula used in preparing arrow poison", **pəlɛs** "to prepare poison by cooking"; **kənro:b cacuʔ** "roof thatch made from the *cacu'*", **karob** "to split"; **bənale:ĭ** "a sort of table made of bamboo"; **bale:ĭ** "sleeping place, sleeping mat".

Gender.

Sex is indicated by the addition of words meaning "male" and "female".

Case.

Nominative.—The subject comes first, and is often repeated by means of a pronoun, e.g. **kare:i na gurl baligʔn te:** "Karei he sits up above"; **ĭurl na akɔgʔn galo:gʔn adek** "the soul of the dead man it hangs on the *galogn adek*"; **ugʔn ĭurl ugʔn ge:i laɴɔĭ hubi** "they (the) souls of the dead they eat (the) shadow of yams"; **na hala na kəbɨs, ugʔn pəraʔ en nis ɪh̆** "(when) he (the) *hala* he dies, they lay (him) in his mat"; **pəlʔuigʔn na o:r** "Pĕluig he commanded (it)".

Even when the subject is a pronoun it is still usually repeated; e.g. **ha hatugʔn** "thou thou-(art)-afraid"; **ĭe: itugʔn** "I I-(am)-afraid".

Nevertheless, sentences often occur without this redundant pronoun, both when the subject is a pronoun and when it is a substantive, e.g. **ĭa pudɛ:u ta kesbɨs** "Ya Pudeu (does) not die"; **ĭe: cib ma sərɔg** "I go into the forest"; **ĭe: ɔĭd ɟalɔg ɟehuʔ** "I climb on the trees"; **kəni hɔ:dʔn səlɔgʔn** "we want to sleep"; **ha(m) keɔg tata kare:ĭ** "thou, listen to Tata Karei".

The *genitive* is commonly indicated by putting the word (unaccompanied by any preposition) after the word on which it is dependent, e.g. **cəkɛĭ ma(r) kui kare:ĭ** "big as the head of Karei" (a description of my own head); **ɟemɜgʔn jehuʔ** "spirits of the trees" (tree spirits); **kənro:b cacuʔ** "roof made of the *cacu'*".

The *dative* is indicated by the particle **ma** ; e.g. **oːg ma ha** "give to thee" ; **oːg ma ŭagʔn** "give to them" ; **oːg məna na** "give to him ; one can say either **oːg ĭeː** or **oːg ma ĭeː** for "give me" ; **kareːĭ na cekɔh̆ ma ĭeː** "Karei he is angry with me" ; **pəlʔuigʔn na oːr ma pɜ asu** "Peluig he commanded (his) sister Asu".

The *accusative* can also be introduced by **ma**, but more usually it follows the verb without the particle ; e.g. **ĭeː ihɔːd ĭeː** or **ĭeː ihɔːd ma ĭeː** "I love myself" ; **ĭeː ihɔːd ŭagʔ(n)** or **ĭeː ihɔːd ma ŭagʔ(n)** "I love them" ; **ĭeː ihɔːd kuɔd** or **ĭeː ihɔːd ma kuɔd** "I love the child". (The first is said to mean "I love this child" and the second "I love children", *sed quaere.*) **na bəguru ma kuɔd** "he teaches the child" ; **ugʔn geːi laɴɔĭ hubi** "they eat the shadows of yams" ; **na təbɔh̆ mənĭurl cəlakaʔ** "she beats the wicked souls" ; **na lɛg huːg** "she knows (their) hearts" ; **ugʔn aŋkɛdʔn kəmuĭd** "they carry the dead" ; **ugʔn curr deːgʔn kəmuĭd** "they burn the hut of the deceased".

The particle **ma**, which indicates the dative and accusative, gives the directive sense "to", e.g. **kui ma sɔĭ is, ɟukʔn ma kɛd is** "the head towards the setting of the sun, the feet towards the rising of the sun", i.e. west and east, respectively ; **na balas ma kuɔd ɪh̆** "he returns to his child" ; **na maː ma deːgʔn** "he returned to (his) hut" (i.e. he went home) ; **na ɕidʔn ma taɟu, ma məntəlaː** "they turn into (= become) snakes, into beasts".

The *locative* is indicated by the particle **en** ; e.g. **na tərgul en ɔgʔn** "she puts (them) into water", but the sentence also occurs without the particle : **na tərgul ɔgʔn bədbudʔn** "she puts (them) into hot water" ; **ugʔn pəraʔ əlah̆ en deːgn** "they leave-behind now in the hut" ; **ugʔn pəraʔ əlah̆ en nis ɪ(h̆)** "they leave-behind now in his mat" ; **ugʔn sɔh̆ en kui raboːgʔn** "they open over (his) head the gable" ; **tɔd en os** "roast in fire" ; **poʔɔl en aŭɛn** "cook in a bamboo".

Adjectives

The adjective follows the substantive, e.g. **kuɔd nana amɛs**

" this child is small " ; **kui go:b cəkɛĭ ma(r) kui kare:ĭ** " the foreigner's head (is as) big as the head of Karei " ; **ĭ(e:) çemug dara mɜrlˀn** " I blow away good blood " ; **çenˀɔĭ buɔs** " bad man " ; **na tərgul en ɔgˀn bədbudˀn çenˀɔĭ cəlakaˀ** " she puts into hot water the wicked people ".

Comparison of Adjectives.

cəkɛĭ " big ", **cəkɛĭ mɜrlˀn** " bigger " (**mɜrlˀn** = " good, better ") ; or **cəkɛĭ** " big " ; **cəkɛĭ gagidˀ** " bigger " ; **cəkɛĭ mɜrlˀn** " very big, biggest ". The particle of comparison is **ma** ; e.g. **cəkɛĭ ma(r) kui kare:ĭ** " (as) big as the head of Karei ".

Verbs

Sing. 1st p. **ĭe: cib** " I go, I shall go " ; 2nd p. **ha cib** ; 3rd p. **na cib**.

Pl. 1st p. (inclusive) **æ cib** ; (exclusive) **kəni cib** ; 2nd p. **uagˀn cib** ; 3rd p. **uagˀn cib**.

Dual (inclusive) **ar nar cib** or **ar nar am cib** " we two go " ; (exclusive) **kaˀan bənar cib** " you two go ".

The past tense is formed by the word **hoɟ** which precedes the pronoun ; e.g. **hoɟ ĭe: ge:i** " I have (already) eaten " ; **hoɟ ha ge:i** " thou hast (already) eaten " ; **hoɟ na ge:i** " he has (already) eaten ", etc.

It is characteristic of the Sakai dialects that they lack the verbal particle **ĭa** (with its secondary form **ŭa**) or **ma**, found in all the Sĕmang dialects.

The frequent repetition of the pronoun has already been mentioned ; e.g. **ĭe: itugˀn** (for **ĭe: ĭe: tugˀn**) " I am afraid " ; **ha hatugˀn** " thou art afraid ".

Imperative.

cib ma sərɔg ! " go into the forest ! " ; **tenla leglug !** " don't laugh ! " ; **o:g, ĭibˀn** (for **ĭe: ibˀn**) **ge:i !** " give, I want to eat ! "

Auxiliary Verbs precede the principal verb without the intervention of any particle ; e.g. **ĭe: ibˀn ge:i** or **ĭe: mɔgˀn ge:i** " I want to (*or* I shall) eat " (Malay *sahaya na' makan*) ;

ĭibˀn tɛdˀn, ĭibˀn geːi, literally "I will go, I will eat", means "I will go to eat"; **ha habˀn səlɔgˀn** "thou canst sleep" (dialectic Malay *mu buleh tidor*); **æ hɔːdˀn səlɔgˀn**; "we want to sleep"; **kəni hoːdˀn səlɔgˀn** "we (exclusive) want to sleep".

Negatives and Prohibitives

pəraˀ a geːi "don't eat" (Malay *jangan makan*); **pəraˀ a ɔgˀn** "don't drink" (Malay *jangan minum*); **ɟe a leglug** or **tenla leglug** "don't laugh" are prohibitions and the use of **a** in them should be noted.

The ordinary negative is **ta**; e.g. **ĭeː ta geːi** "I am not eating"; **ĭeː ɟɛˀ ta gəgeːi** literally, "I not, not eat", means "I don't want to eat"; **ta ĭeː hɔːdˀn** (or **ibˀn**) **səlɔgˀn** "I don't want to sleep"; **ta ĭeː lɛg** "I don't know"; **ti tɔi gəgeːi** or **ti tɔ ĭeː gəgeːi**, literally "not yet I eat", means "I haven't eaten yet"; **tɔ ĭeː hɔːdˀn geːigeːi, ĭeː ɟɛˀ** "I don't want to eat, I don't care to"; **tɔ æ hɔːdˀn səlɔgˀn** "we don't want to sleep"; **tɔ** and **ta** seem to be the same word, only varying in individual pronunciation.

Formation of Words by Reduplication.

geːi, (geːigeːi), gəgeːi, "to eat"; **budˀ, bədbudˀn** "hot"; **gɔs, gisgɔs** "to live"; **ɟɔg, ɟegɟɔg** "to shift from place to place"; **cib, cebcib** "to go"; **ŭeĭɟŭɔiɟ** "ant-eater" ("Ameisenbär"); **cərcɛr** "to engrave ornamental designs". The tendency to reduplicate also causes the repetition of pronouns, as already illustrated.

TEXTS

About Ya Pudeu, as related by Dalem, near the Jemhegn River, Perak. (Granny Pudeu is the deity of the Ple Sakai, she rules in the realm of death and she judges the dead.)

na kəbɨs	**ɕenˀɔi,**	**æ kʊːb,**
(When) he dies,	a man,	we bury (him),
æ cerʊːg;	**ləpas,**	**æ pəraˀ.**
we make a hut (over him);	finished,	we carry (him) out.

na hagʔn ĭurl, na debɔdʔn galo:gʔn mɔĭ, na karæ isi,
It flies, (the) soul, it rises to Galogn Moi, it dries flesh

na tau, əŋkɔŭ gani ĭurl,
(i.e. its flesh dries), it descends, talk other souls

na cib, na akɔgʔn galo:gʔn adek.
(with it), it goes, it hangs (on the) Galogn Adek.

na gurl ɟugʔn-ĭaʔ, na akɔgʔn laĭɛk-laĭɛk. ugʔn ĭurl,
It squats (by) day, it hangs at night. They (the) souls,

ugʔn ge:i laɴɔĭ hubi, laɴɔĭ bərɜk.
they eat (the) shadows of yams, (the) shadows of fruits.

ĭa pudɛ:u, ĭa mənĭurl, na gurl
Granny Pudeu, grandmother of the souls, she squats

ma do:(ħ) dada ɨħ, na gurl
in this direction her breast (i.e. she sits

ĭa mənĭurl ma do:ħ dada ɨħ, na ħŭɔʔ
with her breast towards the ground), she sorrows for

cacɔʔ ɨħ, na təbɔ:ħ mənĭurl cəlakaʔ.
her grandchildren, she beats (the) wicked souls.

ĭa pudɛ:u, na tərgu:l ɔgʔn bədbu:dʔn ɕenʔɔĭ cəlakaʔ,
Granny Pudeu, she puts (into) water hot (the) wicked people,

bɔ namcus, bɔ na lɛg hu:g.
then (she) examines, then she knows (their) hearts.

na tərgu:l bilɔʔ, na tərgu:l ɟenro: ɨħ en ɔgʔn ;
She puts, finally, she puts far from her into water,

na ɕidʔn ma taɟu, ma məntəla:. ĭa pudɛ:u
they turn into snakes, into beasts. (When) Granny Pudeu

na tərsɔĭdʔn kənbɨs æ, sɔĭɟ, mɨrl (or mɜrl),
she has-finished, dead we, finished, all together,

bɔ na tersæ tərhɔr ma æ ; tərsɔĭɟ tərhɔr,
then she lets winds blow on us ; finished (the) winds,

tiu na balu:d. ĭaa:gʔn ĭurl pəcaħ,
water she lets-rise. (The) bones (of the) dead are-broken,

na tərmaːˀ ɕenˀɔĭ gisgɔs. ĭa pudɛːu
she brings back (the) people to life. Granny Pudeu

ta kesbɨs, gɔs ; kareːi na kəbɨs,
does-not die, (she) lives ; Karei he dies, (he does)

ta gisgɔs, na sarupa æ.
not live, he (is) like us.

About Pĕluig. (The Ancestor of the Ple, his rival being Karei, who according to the Ple is the ancestor of the Sĕmang.)

pəlˀuigˀn na oːr neħrɔħ selai,
Pĕluig he commanded (that one should) clear a clearing,

negu, sɔiɟ negu, na curr,
fell (trees), (when) finished felling, he burnt (them),

na oːr ugˀn rui ɟaŭa, hubi,
he ordered (that) one (should) plant millet, yams,

ɕoː, kŭaĭ, telui, gak, bəragˀn,
sweet potatoes, *ubi gadong*, bananas, *ubi kĕladi*, *ubi gatil*,

ɟagoː, buːs. pəlˀuigˀn na oːr ma pɜ asu
maize, sugarcane. Pĕluig commanded (his) sister Asu,

na reŭaħ daraˀ pɜ, na aŋkɛdˀn,
he cut (the) blood (or breast ?) of (his) sister, he took (it),

na suar, na pəraˀ əlaħ. nar həŋɔdˀn
he scattered (it), he left (it) then. (After) two nights

na lɔs, cuŭaĭ ɟaŭaˀ, na tohaː, na kaĭaˀ,
he returned, (it had) become millet, it ripened, he cut (it),

ugˀn tatoːgˀn, ugˀn maː, ugˀn ɟagloːgˀn,
people took (it), people went-home, people threshed (it),

sasiħ, lalag en oːs, ugˀn geːbˀn
pounded (it), roasted (it) at (the) fire, people winnowed (it),

ugˀn rɔgˀn, poˀɔl, ugˀn gageːi.
people put (it into bamboos), cooked (it), people ate (it).

Discovery of the lost Phonetic Sutras of Panini

BY RAGHU VIRA

THE *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* mentions, for the first time, the various constituents of the ancient science of phonetics : अथ शीक्षां व्याख्यास्यामः । वर्णः । स्वरः । मात्रा । बलम् । साम । सन्तानः । इत्युक्तः शीक्षाध्यायः ॥ Prap. vii, An. 2.

At the present day no Śikṣā work contemporaneous with the above and comprising all the said parts is to be traced. In general, the Prātiśākhyas and the still later Śikṣās deal at sufficiently great length with traditional Sanskrit phonetics of their own times; but the common source from which Patañjali derived most of his quotations, which was afterwards used by Candragomin to form his *Varṇa-sūtras*, and which has been extensively quoted and reproduced by subsequent commentators of such high repute as Jayāditya, Jinendrabuddhi, the author of *Prakriyā-Saṅgraha* of the Jain Śākaṭāyana School, Sṛṣṭidhara and a host of others,[1] was little known till recent times.

It was in the year 1879 that Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the illustrious founder of the Ārya Samāja, discovered this work, from where and how we are never told. The very year ऋतुरामाङ्कचन्द्रे ऽब्दे माघमासासिते दले । चतुर्थीं शनिवारे[2] he published it at Benares with a Hindī commentary of his own. Hitherto the book has attracted little attention from the scholarly world. Even so late as the year 1927

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[1] See notes on the text in the following pages. It is most significant that in *Śabda-kaustubha*, a commentary on Aṣṭ., Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita quotes the sūtras of this *Śikṣā*, but in *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, where he has arranged the Aṣṭ. sūtras according to his own plan, he gives different phonetic sūtras. These are attributed by the author of the commentary *Bālamanoramā* to Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita himself.

[2] V.S. 1936 = A.D. 1879–80.

Dr. Siddheśvara Varmā, in his work *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, has made no mention of this *Śikṣā*. (He has also ignored Candra's *Varṇa-sūtras*, and has referred to *Caturadhyāyikā* by the title *Atharva-veda-prātiśākhya*, which is really a different text.[1])

Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī ascribed this work to Pāṇini : on what authority we do not know. A prolonged search has failed to bring to light the original MS. The Board of Trustees of " The Paropakāriṇī Sabhā " at Ajmer were good enough to allow me to examine thoroughly the records bequeathed by the late Svāmī. There most of the MSS. of his works are missing. The MS. was certainly taken away by some of his disciples either during his lifetime or after his death. To judge his disciples more liberally, it might have even been presented to one of them by the Svāmī himself. I accordingly very carefully made a list of all his disciples, and instructed a friend of mine, who was appointed by the D.A.V. College of Lahore, to make a final search for Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī's letters, to keep a keen eye over the houses of Svāmī's disciples. Six months' labours proved of no avail. So that now we do not know whether the colophon of the MS. is responsible for this ascription to Pāṇini as the author, or whether Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī had made his own researches and had arrived at this conclusion. None of the works, beginning with the *Mahābhāṣya* and ending with the *Śabdakaustubha*, which derive quotations from our work mentions the name of the author.

It stands undisputed that, having been quoted by Patañjali, it must be a very ancient work.

The question that first of all puts itself before us is whether there is any reference in literature to Pāṇini's authorship of a Śikṣā. The versified Śikṣā of Piṅgalācārya,[1] which is popularly known as the *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā*, begins: अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा (all the three recensions). This establishes that Pāṇini did compose a Śikṣā work, for otherwise the statement is void of relevancy. Besides, a comparative study of this Śikṣā with the *Varṇa-sūtras* of Candragomin leads irresistibly to the conclusion that, just as for his *Śabda-Lakṣaṇa* and other grammatical treatises he had recourse to the works of Pāṇini, similarly the basis of his *Varṇa-sūtras* must be Pāṇinean. That the present work is the basis for Candra's *Varṇa-sūtras* is established beyond doubt by a comparison of the two works.

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[1] This book was edited by Pt. Viśvabandhu for the Panjab University Oriental Series.

The first verse of Candra is now unfortunately lost to us in original, and is available only in its Tibetan version, which runs :—

Jam. dpal. gzhon. nur. gyur. pa. la.
phyag. 'ćhal. lo | Nammkhaẖ. rluṅ.
las. rab. tu. byuṅ. zhiṅ. lus. las. ni |
yaṅ. dag. gyen. bskyod. rim. pas.
kha. naṅ. sgra. riṅ. di | Gnas.
rnams. de. ma. thag. tu. rab. tu. rnam.
rćol. ldan | yi. ge. ñid. du. kun. du.
'gro. ba. gaṅ. de. sgra |

Dr. Liebich renders it thus :—

> Was aus Himmel und Wind entstehend, aus
> dem Körper emporsteigend, allmählich in
> Munde sich ausbreitet und, mit den Organen
> und den beiden Thätigkeiten (प्रयत्न) vereint,
> zum Zustand von articulierten Lauten gelangt,
> das ist das Wort (शब्द).

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[1] See the commentary published in the Benares edition of *Śikṣāsaṁgraha* : ज्येष्ठभ्रातृभिर्विहिते व्याकरणे ऽनुजनुस्तत्रभवान् पिङ्गलाचार्यस्तन्मतमनुभाव्य शिक्षां वक्तुं प्रतिजानीते अथ शिक्षामिति ॥

This verse in Indravajrā metre was essentially the same as the opening verse of our work—

आकाशवायुप्रभवः शरीरात् समुच्चरन् वक्त्रमुपैति नादः ।
स्थानान्तरेषु प्रविभज्यमानो वर्णत्वमागच्छति यः स शब्दः ॥

Candra tried to improve upon Pāṇini by making the addition of the two *prayatnas* in the third quarter, and has further made the second quarter uniform with the others by making the first syllable heavy.

Now to come to Candra's sūtras proper. These exhibit the same order in treatment as those of Pāṇini, the *sthānas* being dealt with first, the *karaṇa*, the two *prayatnas*—the *ābhyantara* and the *bāhya*—coming next, followed by the varieties of vowels and semi-vowels (with the exception of *r*). Of these, two (31, 48) are taken over from Pāṇini, and twenty-five are merely a verbal reproduction with slight changes made in the construction and sequence of words in order to have a more uniform structure in which the name of the *sthāna*, *karaṇa*, and *prayatna* always comes first in the nominative singular, e.g. :—

कण्ठोऽकुहविसर्जनीयानाम्, S. 3.
जिह्वाग्रं दन्त्यानाम्, S. 15.
संवृतत्वमकारस्य, S. 22.

To this class may also be added five more sūtras, except that three of them (8, 29, 32) do not recognize the *Yamas* (which were probably used in reciting the Vedic texts only), while two others (4, 5) include *i* and *u* in the category of *kaṇṭha-tāluka* and *kaṇṭhoṣṭha* respectively.

To these Candra adds sixteen more : One (1) is introductory, two (2, 14) are *adhikāra-sūtras* (तत्र स्थानम्, करणम्), one (21) enumerates the *ābhyantara-prayatnas*, one (18) clears up the student's difficulty in comprehending what the *karaṇas* are for letters other than dentals, cerebrals, and palatals

(शेषाः स्थानकरणाः), four others (24, 25, 34, 35) must have originally been taken from Pāṇini, though they have not survived in the present mutilated text (तेभ्यो विवृततरत्वमेदोतोः, ताभ्यामैदौतोस्ताभ्यामप्याकारस्य, कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः, अन्तस्था यरलवाः), three (41–3) define *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta*, three (44–6) are loan sūtras from *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (उच्चैरुदात्तः, नीचैरनुदात्तः, समाहारः स्वरितः i, 2, 29–31), and the last of these is स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च "vowels are either pure or nasalized".

These correspondences are of the same character as those between Candra's grammar and *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The following is the text of Pāṇini's *Śikṣā-sūtras*. Short notes have been appended to most of the aphorisms. These embody references to authors and works which have directly used Pāṇini.

Pāṇini's Śikṣā-sūtras

आकाशवायुप्रभवः शरीरात्
समुच्चरन् वक्त्रमुपैति नादः ।
स्थानान्तरेषु प्रविभज्यमानो
वर्णत्वमागच्छति यः स शब्दः ॥ [१ ॥]

Metre: *upajāti*. This and the next verse are very early specimens of the *upajāti*.

The first line of this verse clears up the obscurity and ambiguity of a much disputed compound in *Tait. Pr.*, ii, 2, वायुशरीरसमीरणात्. The commentary *Triratnabhāṣya* suggests two explanations: (1) वायुमग्निः समीरयति इति वायुशरीरम् । तथाभूतात् समीरणात्. (2) वायुश्च शरीरं च वायुशरीरे तयोः समीरणं तस्मात्. Not satisfied with these, the commentator sought help from his predecessors: अन्ये त्वाहुः वायोः शरीरे सतः समीरणम्. Whitney rejected all these, and offered his own, based upon a "more acceptable and less violent" construction: by the setting in motion of

air by the body. In the light of our verse the compound is to be resolved as वायोः शरीरात् समीरणं तस्मात् "by the expulsion of the air from the body".

Vaktra denotes the entire speech-organs. Cf. the use of *mukha* and *āsya*, which mean only the mouth-cavity. On the analogy of the definition of *yantra* in *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* (ch. xxxi, verses 3, 4 [1]), *vaktra* would be most appropriately defined as: यदृच्छया समुच्चरन्तं प्राणवायुं स्वमनीषया यस्मिन् येन वा वाचयति तद् वक्त्रम्.

Nāda is here used in nearly the same sense as *śabda* in *Tait. Pr.*, ii, 1, 2, where the production of *śabda* is said to be at the juncture of *kaṇṭha* and *uras*. Cf. also further (xxii, 1): *śabda* (Whitney translates "tone") is the material of all articulate sounds. The Śikṣā of Piṅgalācārya uses *svara* instead: मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् (verse 9 of Yaj. recension, *Indische Studien*, vol. iv).

For *varṇa* see the verse quoted by Patañjali:—

अक्षरं नक्षरं विद्याद् वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे
(Kielhorn's ed., vol. i, p. 36.)

Here Patañjali remarks: पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते (ib.). It is not improbable that the author of the verse quoted refers to Pāṇini's Śikṣā by *pūrva-sūtre*; for in the second śloka Pāṇini uses *akṣara* in the sense of *varṇa*.

This verse is to be read along with the concluding sūtra, which serves no less to supplement the present verse than to recapitulate the labours of the author. Cf. *Ṛ.Pr.*, xiii, 1; *V.Pr.*, i, 6–9, etc.

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[1] यदृच्छया प्रवृत्तानि भूतानि स्वेन वर्त्मना ।
नियम्यास्मिन् नयति यत् तद्यन्त्रमिति कीर्त्तितम् ॥
स्वरसेन प्रवृत्तानि भूतानि स्वमनीषया ।
कृतं यस्माद् यमयति तद्वा यन्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥
(Baroda edition.)

[जिह्वामध्येन तालव्यानाम् ॥ ३ ॥]

This sūtra is not given in Svāmī Day.'s edition, but the ontext and a comparison with Candra जिह्वामध्यं तालव्यानाम् (sūtra 15 according to Tanjore MS.) leave no doubt that originally the sūtra did form a part of the text. Cf. *V.Pr.*, i, 66, 79; *Cat.*, i, 21.

जिह्वोपाग्रेण मूर्द्धन्यानाम् ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra: जिह्वोपाग्रं शिरस्यानाम् ॥ १६ ॥ owledge

जिह्वाग्राधःकरणं वा ॥ [५ ॥] *hman* . . .

V.Pr. (i, 78), *Cat.* (i, 22) also describe the rse Patañjali troflex, but according to Pāṇini and in

अचर, प[illegible] the tongue in straight attributes both of the letters and of *Brahman*[illegible] says : *ṣara* "immutable" is to be compared *avyaya* in its twofold use in theology [2] and grammar. गुहा would in one case mean the cavity of the heart, in the other the cavity of the mouth.

[1] स्थानमिदं [2] करणमिदं [3, 4] प्रयत्न एष द्विधा- [5] निलः स्थानं पीडयति [6] वृत्तिकारः [7] प्रक्रम एषो [8] ऽथ नाभितलात् ॥ [३ ॥] [3]

The verse (?) enumerates the contents of the eight chapters of this work. The method adopted is very peculiar. It combines the *pratīka*-system of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Anukramaṇīs* with that of the *prakaraṇa-samuddeśa* method of Kauṭalya's *Artha-Śāstra* and Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-Sūtra*. *Vṛttikāra* is not a very clear description of the sixth chapter, which deals with *savarṇa* letters.

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[1] वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

[2] *Kaṭha-Up.*, iii, 15; *Śvet.-Up.*, iii, 12; *Muṇḍ.-Up.*, i, 1, 16, etc.

[3] Sv. Day.'s edition gives before this passage the sūtra त्रिषष्टिः, which is followed by a list of the letters of the alphabet, which include the *pluta* vowels, and read the diphthongs in the order *e, o, ai, au*. The four *yamas* are here given as the *hrasva* and *dīrgha anunāsikas*, the *nāsikya* (i.e. the nasalization in a vowel), and the letter ळ. This interpretation of the *yamas* by Sv. Day. is not supported by any authority.

air by the body. In the light of our verse the compound is to be resolved as वायोः शरीरात् समीरणं तस्मात् "by the expulsion of the air from the body".

Vaktra denotes the entire speech-organs. Cf. the use of *mukha* and *āsya*, which mean only the mouth-cavity. On the analogy of the definition of *yantra* in *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* (ch. xxxi, verses 3, 4 [1]), *vaktra* would be most
कण्ठ्याव ropriately defined as: यदृच्छया समुच्चरन्तं प्राणवायुं
हविसर्जनीय गा यस्मिन् येन वा वाचयति तद् वक्त्रम्.
Cf. Abhaya here used in nearly the same sense as *śabda* in
Throughout the 1, 2, where the production of *śabda* is said to
observations of any o of *kaṇṭha* and *uras*. Cf. also
itney translato

जिह्वामूलीयो जिह्व्यः ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Candra: जिह्वामूलं जिह्वामूलीयस्य ॥ १३ ॥

कवर्गः ऋवर्णस्य जिह्व्यः ॥ [४ ॥]

The repetition of *jihvyaḥ* is un-Pāṇinean, and must be an interpolation, possibly a case of incorporation of a marginal note into the text.

ekeṣāṃ is to be supplied in this aphorism from sūtra 2. This mode of supplying understood words from preceding sūtras having passed over the intermediate ones is well known to the students of Pāṇini under the name *maṇḍūka-pluti* "frog-leap".[2]

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri: कोर्जिह्वामूलीयस्य च जिह्वामूलम् (ibid.).

R.Pr. (i, 18):—

> ऋकारल्कारावथ षष्ठ ऊष्मा ।
> जिह्वामूलीयाः प्रथमस्य वर्गः ॥

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[1] Jin. concludes the quotations from this *Śikṣā* with इति वचनात्, इति शिक्षाकाराः, etc.

[2] Pat.: अथवा मण्डूकगतयो ऽधिकाराः । तद्यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति तद्वदधिकाराः

[जिह्वामध्येन तालव्यानाम् ॥ ३ ॥]

This sūtra is not given in Svāmī Day.'s edition, but the ontext and a comparison with Candra जिह्वामध्यं तालव्यानाम् (sūtra 15 according to Tanjore MS.) leave no doubt that originally the sūtra did form a part of the text. Cf. *V.Pr.*, i, 66, 79 ; *Cat.*, i, 21.

जिह्वोपाग्रेण मूर्द्धन्यानाम् ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : जिह्वोपाग्रं शिरस्यानाम् ॥ १६ ॥

जिह्वाग्राधःकरणं वा ॥ [५ ॥]

V.Pr. (i, 78), *Cat.* (i, 22) also describe the c
retroflex, but according to Pāṇini and in m ष्ठात् प्रभृति
प्र।
se are made by the tongue in straight p
इचुयश *Caturadhyāyikā* (i, 23) says : ष
Cf. Canc ; ॥
नाम ॥ [६ ॥]

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi on हयवरट्.

ऋटुरषा मूर्द्धन्याः ॥ [८ ॥]

Cf. Candra : मूर्द्धा ऋटुरषाणाम् ॥ ६ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

रेफो दन्तमूलीय एकेषाम् ॥ [९ ॥]

Cf. *R̥.Pr.*, i, 19, 20 ; *V.Pr.*, i, 68 ; *Cat.*, i, 28 ; *T.Pr.*, ii, 41. According to all these authorities *r* was dental or alveolar.

Abhayacandrasūri : रेफस्य दन्तमूलमेकेषाम् (ibid.).

दन्तमूलस्तु तवर्गः ॥ [१० ॥]

ekeṣāṃ is to be supplied from the previous sūtra. This is an instance of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. Cf. *R̥.Pr.*, i, 19.

ऌतुलसा दन्त्याः ॥ [११ ॥]

Cf. Candra : दन्ता ऌतुलसानाम् ॥ ७ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

वकारो दन्त्यौष्ठ्यः ॥ [१२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : दन्तोष्ठं वकारस्य ॥ १२ ॥

Abhayacandrasūri : वस्य दन्तोष्ठम् (ibid.).

सृक्किणीस्थानमेके ॥ [१३ ॥]

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri : सृक्वस्थानमेकेषाम् (ibid.).

air by the body. In the light of our verse the compound is to be resolved as वायोः शरीरात् समीरणं तस्मात् "by the expulsion of the air from the body".

Vaktra denotes the entire speech-organs. Cf. the use of *mukha* and *āsya*, which mean only the mouth-cavity. On [illegible] analogy of the definition of *yantra* in *Samarāṅgaṇa*-[illegible] (ch. xxxi, verses 3, 4 [1]), *vaktra* would be most [illegible] defined as: यदृच्छया समुच्चरन्तं प्राणवायुं [illegible] येन वा वाचयति तद् वक्त्रम्.

Cf. Abha[illegible]

यमाश्च नासिक्याः [illegible]sed in nearly the same [illegible]

एदैतौ कण्ठ्यतालव्यौ [illegible]here the pro[illegible]

Cf. Candra sūtra [illegible] ॥ १३ ॥ [illegible]ing of an indicatory *t* after *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au* is common with *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

ओदौतौ कण्ठ्यौष्ठ्यौ ॥ [१९ ॥]

Cf. Candra sūtra 5 quoted above.

ङञणनमाः स्वस्थाननासिकास्थानाः ॥ [२० ॥]

Cf. Candra: स्वस्थानानुनासिका ङञणनमाः ॥ ९ ॥

Jinendrabuddhi: ञमङणना स्वस्थाना नासिकास्थानाश्च (ibid.).

द्वे द्वे वर्णे सन्ध्यक्षराणामारम्भके भवत इति ॥ [२१ ॥]

इति seems quite superfluous.

सरेफ ऋवर्णः ॥ [२२ ॥]

Cf. *R̥.Pr.*, xiii, 14; *Cat.*, i, 37, 39.

अथ द्वितीयं प्रकरणम् ॥

जिह्व्यतालव्यमूर्धन्यदन्त्यानां जिह्वया करणम् ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra: करणम् ॥ १४ ॥

जिह्वामूलेन जिह्व्यानां तद्द्वेषामभ्यासम् ॥ [२ ॥]

तद्द्वेषामभ्यासम् may be an interpolation by one who had despaired of acquiring the right pronunciation. Candra has nothing corresponding to this sūtra. Cf. *V.Pr.*, i, 83, 84; *Cat.*, i, 19, 20.

[जिह्वामध्येन तालव्यानाम् ॥ ३ ॥]

This sūtra is not given in Svāmī Day.'s edition, but the ontext and a comparison with Candra जिह्वामध्यं तालव्यानाम् (sūtra 15 according to Tanjore MS.) leave no doubt that originally the sūtra did form a part of the text. Cf. *V.Pr.*, i, 66, 79; *Cat.*, i, 21.

जिह्वोपाग्रेण मूर्द्धन्यानाम् ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra: जिह्वोपाग्रं शिरस्यानाम् ॥ १६ ॥

जिह्वाग्राधःकरणं वा ॥ [५ ॥]

V.Pr. (i, 78), *Cat.* (i, 22) also describe the cerebrals as retroflex, but according to Pāṇini and in my own speech these are made by the tongue in straight position.

For *ṣ*, *Caturadhyāyikā* (i, 23) says: षकारस्य द्रोणिका.

जिह्वाग्रेण दन्त्यानाम् ॥ [६ ॥]

Cf. Candra: जिह्वाग्रं दन्त्यानाम् (sūtra 17 according to Tanjore MS.). Liebich gives this and the preceding two Cāndra sūtras in the reverse order—17, 16, 15. Candra adds: शेषाः स्वस्थानकरणाः ॥ १८ ॥. See also *V.Pr.*, i, 76; *Cat.*, i, 24.

इत्येतदन्तःकरणम ॥ [७ ॥]

अन्तःकरणम् — "the *karaṇas* inside the mouth," i.e. those lying between and excluding the *kaṇṭha* and the lips.

The *karaṇas* for *urasya*, *nāsikya*, *kaṇṭhya*,[1] *kaṇṭhyoṣṭhya*, *dantyoṣṭhya*, and *oṣṭhya*, if they had been distinguished as separate from the *sthānas*, would have received the designation *bāhya-karaṇas*.

अथ तृतीयं प्रकरणम् ॥

प्रयत्नोऽपि द्विविधः ॥ [१ ॥]

अपि is redundant because it would imply that the *karaṇas* are twofold.

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[1] Pat. (vol. i, p. 61) takes *a* and hence the *kaṇṭhya* letters (?) to be utside the mouth (*āsya*).

आभ्यन्तरो वाह्यश्च ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : प्रयत्नो द्विविध आभ्यन्तरो वाह्यश्च ॥ १९ ॥

आभ्यन्तरस्तावत् ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. Candra : तत्राभ्यन्तरः ॥ २० ॥ संवृतत्वं विवृतत्वं स्पृष्टत्वमीषत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥ २१ ॥

स्पृष्टकरणाः स्पर्शाः ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : स्पृष्टत्वं स्पर्शानाम् ॥ २६ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9.

ईषत्स्पृष्टकरणा अन्तःस्थाः ॥ [५ ॥]

Cf. Candra : ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वमन्तःस्थानाम् ॥ २७ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

ईषद्विवृतकरणा ऊष्माणः ॥ [६ ॥]

विवृतकरणा वा ॥ [७ ॥]

Cf. Candra : विवृतत्वं स्वराणामूष्मणां च ॥ २३ ॥

विवृतकरणाः स्वराः ॥ [८ ॥]

Cf. Cāndra sūtra 23. Patañjali (i, 1, 4) cites four sūtras from some unknown work: "स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम् ॥ ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् ॥ विवृतमूष्मणाम् ॥" ईषदित्येवानुवर्तते । 'स्वराणां च ॥' विवृतम् [supply इत्यनुवर्तते ।] ईषदिति निवृत्तम् ॥

Here three more sūtras have probably fallen out: तेभ्यो विवृततरावेदोतौ ॥ ताभ्यामैदौतौ ॥ ताभ्यामप्याकारः ॥ Cf. Candra : तेभ्यो विवृततरत्वमेदोतोः ॥ २४ ॥ ताभ्यामैदौतोस्ताभ्यामप्याकारस्य ॥ २५ ॥, Piṅg.'s *Śikṣā* : तेभ्योऽपि विवृतावेङौ ताभ्यामैचौ ततोऽपि चा (Yaj. rec., śl. 29).

संवृतस्त्वकारः ॥ [९ ॥]

Cf. Candra : संवृतत्वमकारस्य ॥ २२ ॥

Sṛṣṭidhara quotes the sūtra thus : संवृतस्त्वकार इति शिक्षासूत्रप्रणयनात् (*Bhāṣāvṛtty-arthavivṛtti* on अ अ, the last sūtra).

इत्येषो ऽन्तःप्रयत्नः ॥ [१० ॥]

अथ चतुर्थं प्रकरणम् ॥

अथ वाह्याः प्रयत्नाः ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : बाह्यः ॥ २८ ॥

Patañjali (vol. i, p. 61) : सन्ति त्वास्याद् वाह्याः प्रयत्नाः । . . . के पुनस्ते । विवारसंवारौ श्वासनादौ घोषवदघोषवत्ताऽल्पप्राणता महाप्राणतेति ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीया यमौ च प्रथमद्वितीयौ विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदानाश्चाघोषाः ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्च विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाः ॥ २९ ॥

Patañjali (ibid.) gives the sūtra in an abridged form : तत्र वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीया विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाश्च ॥ Jinendrabuddhi (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes the sūtra, with the variant श्वासानुप्रदाना for श्वासानुप्रदानाश्च.

एके ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ [३ ॥]

Patañjali (ibid.) एके ऽल्पप्राणा अपरे महाप्राणाः

Cf. Candra : प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमा अन्तस्थाश्चाल्पप्राणाः ॥ ३० ॥ इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ ३१ ॥

Jinendrabuddhi : वर्ग्ययमाणां प्रथमे ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे सर्वे महाप्राणाः (ibid.).

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्था अन्तःस्था हकारानुस्वारौ यमौ च तृतीयचतुर्थौ नासिक्याश्च संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तश्च ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्तःस्थहकाराः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥ ३२ ॥

Patañjali (ibid.) तृतीयचतुर्थाः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥

Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.) reads वर्गाणां च, and omits नासिक्याश्च in the middle and च at the end.

[एके ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ ५ ॥]

The sūtra is lacking in the edition of Sv. Day., and in Cāndra Varṇa-sūtras.

Cf. Patañjali (ibid.) : एके ऽल्पप्राणा अपरे महाप्राणाः ॥

Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.): वर्ग्ययमाणां तृतीया अन्तस्थाश्चाल्पप्राणा इतरे सर्वे महाप्राणाः ॥

यथा तृतीयास्तथा पञ्चमाः ॥ [६ ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (ibid.) and Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.) Patañjali, however, adds: आनुनासिक्यवर्जम्.

आनुनासिक्यमेषामधिको गुणः ॥ [७ ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (ibid.) and Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

शादय ऊष्माणः ॥ [८ ॥]

Cf. Candra: द्वितीयचतुर्थाः शषसहाश्चोष्माणः ॥ ३३ ॥

Jinendrabuddhi: शादय ऊष्माणः । सस्थानेन द्वितीयाः । हकारेण चतुर्था इति शिक्षा (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 49).

सस्थानेन द्वितीयाः ॥ [९ ॥]

ऊष्मणा is understood after सस्थानेन, and ऊष्माणः after द्वितीयाः Cf. the verse cited by the commentator of *Cat.* (i, 10):

सस्थानैरूष्मभिः प्रक्तास्तृतीया प्रथमाश्च ये ।
चतुर्थाश्च द्वितीयाश्च सम्पद्यन्त इति स्थितिः ॥

"The third and first letters, when combined with *ūṣma* breath of position corresponding to their own, become fourths and seconds."

हकारेण चतुर्थाः ॥ [१० ॥]

सस्थानेन is to be supplied from the preceding sūtra, as also ऊष्माणः from sūtra 8. *h* is apparently used here to denote voiced *ūṣma* breath.

Candra adds: कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः ॥ ३४ ॥ अन्तःस्था यरलवा इत्येष वाह्यः प्रयत्नः ॥ ३५ ॥

अथ पञ्चमं प्रकरणम् ॥

तत्र स्पर्शयमवर्णकरो वायुरयःपिण्डवत् स्थानमभिपीडयति ॥ [१ ॥]

अन्तस्था(?)वर्णकरो वायुर्दारुपिण्डवत् ॥ [२ ॥]

ऊष्मस्वरवर्णकरो वायुरूर्णापिण्डवत् ॥ [३ ॥]

उक्ताः स्थानकरणप्रयत्नाः ॥ [४ ॥]

अथ षष्ठं प्रकरणम् ॥

अ ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतत्वात्त्रैस्वर्योपनयेन चानुनासिक्यभेदाच्च संख्यातो ऽष्टादशात्मकः ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : अत्र चावर्णो ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः ॥ ३६ ॥ प्रत्येकमुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितभेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदेन चाष्टादशधा भवति ॥ ३७ ॥

Kāśikā (i, 1, 9) : अ अ॒ अ॑ इति त्रयो ऽकारा उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरिताः प्रत्येकं सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतभेदादष्टादशधा भिद्यन्ते ॥

एवमिवर्णादयः ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : एवमिवर्णोवर्णावृवर्णश्च ॥ ३८ ॥

Kāśikā (ibid.) : तथेवर्णस्तथोवर्णस्तथा ऋवर्णः ॥

लृवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. Candra : लृवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति तेन स द्वादशधा भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

तं द्वादशभेदमाचक्षते ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Cāndra sūtra 39. Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.), with the variant -प्रभेदम्.

यदृच्छाशब्दाशक्तिजानुकरणे वा यदा दीर्घाः स्युस्तदा ऽष्टादशभेदं ब्रुवते — क्लृपक इति ॥ [५ ॥]

Cf. the vārttika : लृकारोपदेशो यदृच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणप्लुत्याद्यर्थः (on ऋलृक्, *Mbh.*, vol. i, p. 19).

सन्ध्यक्षराणां ह्रस्वा न सन्ति ॥ [६ ॥]

Cf. Candra : सन्ध्यक्षराणां ह्रस्वाभावात् तान्यपि द्वादशधा ॥ ४० ॥

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

तान्यपि द्वादशप्रभेदानि ॥ [७ ॥]

Cf. Cāndra sūtra 40.

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

अन्तःस्था द्विप्रभेदा रेफवर्जिताः ॥ [८ ॥]

Quoted by Candra (sūtra 48) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.).

सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च ॥ [९ ॥]

Quoted by Candra (ibid.) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.). Cf. also Patañjali (vol. i, p. 16) : सन्ति हि यणः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च.

रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति ॥ [१० ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (vol. i, p. 28) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.).

वर्ग्यो वर्ग्येण सवर्णः ॥ [११ ॥]

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

अथ सप्तमं प्रकरणम् ॥

इत्येष क्रमो वर्णानाम् ॥ [१ ॥]

तत्रैते कौशिकीयाः श्लोकाः ॥ [२ ॥]

Here Sv. Dayānanda Sarasvatī adds a note that " those verses which have nothing in addition to the sixth chapter have not been written here ". These verses are now lost to us, and perhaps will never be discovered again.

सर्वान्ते ऽयोगवाहत्वाद् विसर्गादिरिहाष्टकः ।
अकार उच्चारणार्थो व्यञ्जनेष्वनुबध्यते ॥ [३ ॥]
ᳵकᳵपयोः कपकारौ च तद्वर्गीयाश्रयत्वतः ।
पलिक्नी चख्खनतुर्जग्मिम-र्जघ्नुरित्यत्र यद् वपुः ॥ [४ ॥]
नासिक्यनाक्तं(?)कादीनां त इमे यमाः ।
तेषामुकारः संस्थानवर्गीयलक्षणः ॥ [५ ॥]

The last verse is corrupt.

अथाष्टमं प्रकरणम् ॥

उक्ताः स्थानकरणप्रयत्नाः ॥ [१ ॥]

The sūtra has already been given at the close of the fifth chapter.

इह यत्रस्था वर्णा उपलभ्यन्ते तत् स्थानम् ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. *T.Pr.* (ii, 31, 33) : स्वराणां यत्रोपसंहारस्तत् स्थानम् ॥ अन्येषां तु यत्र स्पर्शनं तत् स्थानम् ॥

येन निर्वृत्यते तत् करणम् ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. *T.Pr.* (ii, 32, 34): यदुपसंहरति तत् करणम् ॥, or—according to others—येन स्पर्शयति तत् करणम् ॥

प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः ॥ [४ ॥]

Patañjali (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes this sūtra, analyses the word *prayatna-*, and gives a long discussion, at the end of which he establishes that प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः is the only possible definition: अथ कः प्रयत्नः । प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः । प्रपूर्वाद् यततेर्भावसाधनो नङ्-प्रत्ययः ॥ न हि प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः । किं तर्हि । प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः । यदि प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः, एवमप्यवर्णस्य एङोश्च सवर्णसञ्ज्ञा प्राप्नोति । ... एवं तर्हि — प्रयतनमेव प्रयत्नः ॥

Bhartṛhari in his commentary on this passage remarks: प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्न एतद् भाष्यकारस्य दर्शनम् (Berlin fragmentary MS., p. 95*a*, ll. 6–7), and thus indicates that प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः in *Mbh.* is a quotation.

नाभिप्रदेशात् प्रयत्नप्रेरितः प्राणो नाम वायुरूर्ध्वमाक्रामन्नुरआदीनां
स्थानानामन्यतमस्मिन् स्थाने प्रयत्नेन विचार्यते ॥ [५ ॥]

वि + चर् is here used in the sense of "to pass".

Jinendrabuddhi (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes the sūtra with the variations वायुः प्राणो नाम, उरःप्रभृतीनां, omitting स्थानानां after it, and in the end विधार्यते for विचार्यते. Sv. Day.'s edition has the colophon: समाप्ता चेयं वर्णोच्चारणशिक्षा.

The text as presented here is in a corrupt form, the seventh chapter being the most unsatisfactory. Like the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it is a sūtra work with eight chapters. Being a primer for the instruction of children, the sūtras are very simple and clear, though there are instances of *maṇḍūka-pluti* and *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. The device of affixing an indicatory *t* to vowels and *u* to the first letters of the five classes of mutes has also been made use of. Words like *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, *pluta*, *savarṇa* are not defined here. These have been later on explained in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. *Prayatna* defined in the *Śikṣā* is naturally supposed to be known to the students of *Aṣṭ.*, i, 1, 9, just as the concluding sūtra of *Aṣṭ.* presupposes संवृतस्त्वकारः (*Śikṣā*, iii, 9). The *svaras* have been dealt entirely in the grammar, though Candra thought it more appropriate to include the definitions of *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita* as well as of *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta* in the *Varṇa-sūtras*.

Quoting of different definitions and pronunciations is a very important feature of the *Śikṣā*.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE SCRIPT OF THE INDUS VALLEY SEALS

A close examination of the engraved and inscribed seals found at Mohenjo-daro in Sindh and at Harappa in the Panjāb has led me to the conclusion that what have up to this time been regarded as pictographs or ideographs are letters or characters (*akṣaras*) closely connected with the characters of the script known as Brāhmī. As a result of this study, I have prepared a table (see Plate No. I) of such characters as I have been able to distinguish so far, to serve as a working key to the decipherment of the inscriptions. By the aid of this key I have been able, I believe, to read some of the inscriptions available to me for examination. Out of these I have selected a number, which I have shown on a second plate with the equivalent Devanāgarī characters written immediately below for the sake of comparison. These identifications must be regarded at present as tentative and as liable to modification or correction hereafter. I have been handicapped by being able to study only the illustrations that have so far appeared in the published records of the Archæological Survey of India and in a few other publications, which represent but a small proportion of the seals that have been found. I have been induced to put forward my suggested readings at this early stage of my researches by the hope that they may stimulate other scholars to follow up the clues offered and so lead eventually to the complete decipherment of the seals.

A few conclusions of a general nature have also suggested
emselves to me in the course of my investigation. These
y be very briefly stated.

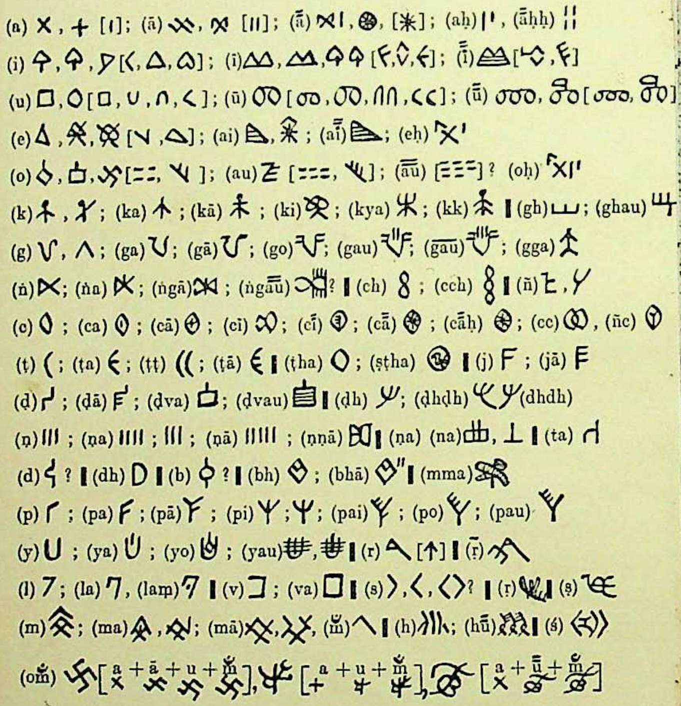
The seals hitherto discovered seem to belong to periods
lely separated in time, and to represent different stages
the evolution of the script that later on became more or
s stereotyped as the Brāhmī form of writing.

t would appear that the preparation of these seals was,
beginning, very closely associated with the religious
vances and sacrificial practices of the times. For
mple, many of the seals appear to me to have been

intended to serve as dies for the preparation of sacrific bricks (*iṣṭakā*), on the subject of which an extensive literatu exists. On many of the seals, again, we shall find engrav mystic and sacred formulas, the interpretation of whi requires careful examination of certain Vedic and Tānt

PLATE I

SUGGESTED KEY TO THE SCRIPT ON THE SEALS

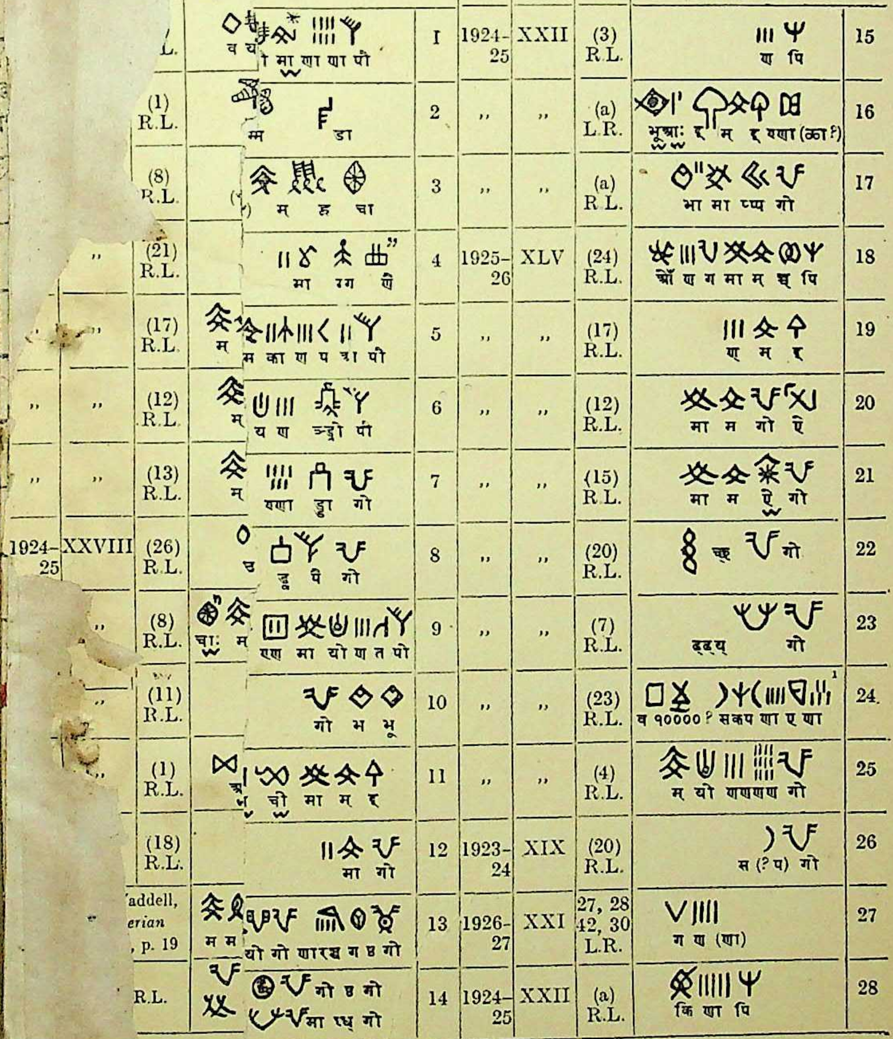

(a) (ā) (ā̄) (aḥ) (ā̄ḥḥ)
(i) (ī) (ī̄)
(u) (ū) (ū̄)
(e) (ai) (aī̄) (eḥ)
(o) (au) (āū) (oḥ)
(k) (ka) (kā) (ki) (kya) (kk) (gh) (ghau)
(g) (ga) (gā) (go) (gau) (gāu) (gga)
(ṅ) (ṅa) (ṅgā) (ṅgāū) (ch) (cch) (ñ)
(c) (ca) (cā) (cī) (cā̄) (cā̄ḥ) (cc) (ñc)
(ṭ) (ṭa) (ṭṭ) (ṭā) (ṭha) (ṣṭha) (j) (jā)
(ḍ) (ḍā) (ḍva) (ḍvau) (ḍh) (ḍhḍh) (dhdh)
(ṇ) (ṇa) (ṇā) (ṇṇā) (ṇa) (na) (ta)
(d) (dh) (b) (bh) (bhā) (mma)
(p) (pa) (pā) (pi) (pai) (po) (pau)
(y) (ya) (yo) (yau) (r) (ṛ)
(l) (la) (laṃ) (v) (va) (s) (r) (ṣ)
(m) (ma) (mā) (ṁ) (h) (hū̄) (ś)
(oṁ) a ā u ṁ a u ṁ a ū̄ ṁ

texts. In fact it is not too much to say that the deciph ment of the older seals will open a new vista in the study this sacred literature and provide fresh evidence of t antiquity of the so-called "Vedic period". Similarly, t Tāntric literature will throw light upon certain of the symb employed. Indeed, the apparent influence of Tā symbolism may lead to interesting conclusions regar the remoteness of the age from which Tāntric cults we volved.

Date of submission

पुस्तकालय
110447

PLATE II



Archæological Survey of India Annual Report.		Inscrip- tion No.	Selected inscriptions on sealings with decipherment in Devanāgarī characters beneath.
		L.	व य
		(1) R.L.	म्म
		(8) R.L.	
,,		(21) R.L.	
,,	,,	(17) R.L.	म
,,	,,	(12) R.L.	म
,,	,,	(13) R.L.	म
1924–25	XXVIII	(26) R.L.	ब
	,,	(8) R.L.	चाः म
	,,	(11) R.L.	
	,,	(1) R.L.	ऋ
		(18) R.L.	
		Waddell, ...erian ..., p. 19	म म
		R.L.	

Selected inscriptions on seals and sealings with decipherment in Devanāgarī characters beneath.		Year.	Plate No.	Inscrip- tion No.	Selected inscriptions on seals and sealings with decipherment in Devanāgarī characters beneath.	
ा मा णा या पौ	I	1924–25	XXII	(3) R.L.	या पि	15
डा	2	,,	,,	(a) L.R.	भूआः ह म ह यणा (का?)	16
) म ह्र चा	3	,,	,,	(a) R.L.	भा मा प्प गो	17
मा रग णै	4	1925–26	XLV	(24) R.L.	ओँ या ग मा म ह् पि	18
म का ण प ञा पी	5	,,	,,	(17) R.L.	ण म ह	19
य ण र्ड्रो पी	6	,,	,,	(12) R.L.	मा म गो ऐ	20
यणा ड्रा गो	7	,,	,,	(15) R.L.	मा म ऐ गो	21
ड्डु पि गो	8	,,	,,	(20) R.L.	च्छ गो	22
एण मा यो ण त पो	9	,,	,,	(7) R.L.	द्दय् गो	23
गो भ भू	10	,,	,,	(23) R.L.	व १०००० ? सकप णा ए णा[1]	24
चौ मा म ह	11	,,	,,	(4) R.L.	म यो णणणण गो	25
मा गो	12	1923–24	XIX	(20) R.L.	स (?प) गो	26
यो गो णारख ग ठ गो	13	1926–27	XXI	27, 28 42, 30 L.R.	ग या (णा)	27
गो ठ गो मा प्ध् गो	14	1924–25	XXII	(a) R.L.	कि णा पि	28

means the inscription should be read from right to left.

means the inscription should be read from left to right.

[1] (Saṃ. राजन्या पच १०००० ? वर्ष ?)

The readings of the inscriptions concerned I meaning, provided the language is understood form of Prakrit or old pre-Vedic language. It to form any definite opinion yet.

My only excuse for putting forward the suggestions, while so many of the seals found available for examination, is the paramoun of the subject for the understanding of the ancie of India.

The basis on which my key has been prepa directions in which emendations are likely t necessary cannot be set forth in this short not be reserved for fuller treatment hereafter.

PR

SHĀH JAHĀN II

In his interesting note on the Rāīsīna grant Pt describes the puppet ruler who was set up by after the murder of 'Ālamgīr II as Muhī-us-sun title of Shāh Jahān II. He has evidently follov ul-mutaākhirīn (III, p. 375, Cambray's editior S. H. Hodivala has shown (p. 310, "Historic Mughal numismatics") that there is better describing him as the son of Muhī-us-sunnat, name was Muhī-ul-millat or Muhī-ud-dīn. In was the third Shāh Jahān, as this regal title h assumed by Rafī'-ud-daula in A.H. 1131 (A.D. 1

NOTICE.

In an article in the *Morgenbladet* (Oslo), of the 1931, it is announced that the Institute for Research in Human Culture have decided to pub on the Burushaski Language of Hunza Nagar b D. L. R. Lorimer, an old and valued contribu Journal. The linguistic relationships of the language present a baffling problem for the el which Colonel Lorimer's work is expected peculiarly reliable material.

THE

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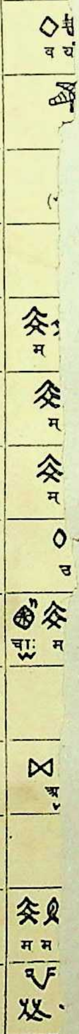
व यं
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Compiled
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